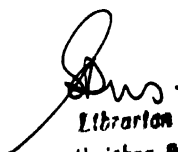


Subaltern life in Southern
India:

1783-1794

VOL. — 1


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thing in his childhood, it was less for a studious habit than for a certain quickness of parts, which enabled him to prepare his lessons as he trudged up the hill on his way to school; and for that fearlessness of heart and activity of body, the boyish result of which is commonly mischief. The tradition is, that "Jock" was the scapegrace and the scapegoat of the family. The Westerkirk schoolmaster, Mr. Archibald Graham, used to declare, whatever wild pranks were committed, that "Jock was at the bottom of them." No matter how little apparent his participation in the exploit may have been, still the preceptor clung to his formula, and exclaimed, "Jock's at the bottom of it."*

It might well have been a matter of serious concern, even to one in prosperous circumstances, how to provide for all these robust boys. To George Malcolm, after his misfortunes, it was the study and anxiety of his life. Fortunately he had many friends—friends in his own native Eskdale, and friends in the great English metropolis. For the eldest boy, Robert, an appointment was obtained as a writer in the service of the great Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies. James,† the second son, was provided for in the Marines, with a fair field of distinguished service before him. For the third boy, Pulteny,‡ a midshipman's berth was secured in a man-of-war, and he was on the road to become a great admiral, and one of England's best naval heroes. And now, when yet only eleven years old, John was set down in the Burnfoot book of fate for a military career in the East.

Among Mr. Malcolm's friends, it has been said, were

* The schoolmaster lived to address his old pupil as Sir John. There is an anecdote in the family, that on the appearance of his "History of Persia," Malcolm sent a copy of it to Mr. Graham, with an inscription on the fly-leaf of "Jock's at the bottom of it." I

have not, however, been able to authenticate the details of this story.

† The late Sir James Malcolm, K.C.B.

‡ The late Admiral Sir Pulteny Malcolm, G.C.B.

the Johnstones of Alva. One of the family was the well-known "Governor Johnstone," whose influence at the India-House was not unwillingly exerted in behalf of the tenant of Burnfoot. By him a nomination to the military service of the Company was tendered to Mr. Malcolm for his son John before the close of 1780;* but the extreme youth of the boy rendered it doubtful whether the offer could be turned to immediate account. The winter and spring passed away, and Jock remained in Eskdale, at the bottom of all the mischief as before. But in the course of the summer a visitor appeared at Burnfoot, who proposed to carry off the boy to London, and obtained the parents' ready consent.

This was John Malcolm's maternal uncle, Mr. John Pasley, a London merchant of high character and position—a man of a kindly disposition and a generous nature, who had rendered much good substantial service to the Burnfoot party in their troubles, and whose knowledge of business was yet to be exercised to the profit of the younger members of the family. His summer visit to Eskdale was now a momentous one. It was agreed that Jock should return with his uncle to London. So mere a child was he, that on the morning of his departure, when the old nurse was combing his hair, she said to him, "Now, Jock, my mon, be sure when ye are awa'

* *John Johnstone to George Malcolm; December 6th, 1780.* "The enclosed, from my worthy brother, the Governor, is a fresh proof of his never-ceasing attention and sympathy to his friends. He thinks that John, the eldest of your boys now at home, if I have not mistaken his name, and who you told me was eleven years old, though young should nevertheless accept of this appointment. Could one be certain of such a hit hereafter, no question it would be more to be wished, but so many accidents may occur to disap-

point, that young as John is, it may be doing the best thing to embrace the offer. My brother's health is far from being re-established, and his absence, or any accident to him, and my distance from the scene of Indian affairs, might render this appointment hereafter very precarious. . . . What I could wish most would be permission for John to remain behind for another year after his appointment, with the consent of the Directors. It would be happy, perhaps, could this be effected, but we must not depend upon it."

ye kaim your head and keep your face clean; if ye dinna, ye'll just be sent hame agen." "Tut, woman," was the answer, "ye're aye se feard; ye'll see if I were awa' amang strangers, I'll just do weel aneugh."

And the brave words were truly spoken. At the end of July, 1781, young John Malcolm, accompanying his uncle, Mr. John Pasley, for the first time crossed the Scottish border. A journey of two days brought him to the English metropolis, where he spent a week, nominally in his uncle's house, but really abroad in the streets, seeing almost everything that was worth seeing, and enjoying himself beyond expression. During this brief period of sight-seeing his ideas began to expand wonderfully, and the childishness of his manners rapidly disappeared.* But there was other education in store for him than that of the great world. On the 7th of August his uncle carried him to school, placing Jock under the charge of Mr. Allen, a gentleman who was under some obligations to Mr. Pasley, and was sure, therefore, to do justice to the boy.

It was Mr. Pasley's desire to obtain an appointment for his nephew in the Company's military service with the least possible delay. But the boy was only twelve years old; and though tall of his age, still of so juvenile an appearance, that there was little likelihood of his passing at the India-House. There were no fixed rules in those days respecting the age at which commissions might be held, but the candidate had to appear before a Committee of Directors, and from them to receive his credentials. There was no difficulty about John's nomi-

* *Mr. John Pasley to Mrs. Malcolm; August 11, 1781.* "I allowed him to remain with me all the week, that he might see and become a little acquainted with this immense city. His time was fully employed in traversing its streets, and during these few days he saw

everything almost that was curious, and was delighted beyond expression. His ideas began to open, his behaviour is much altered, and on the whole, hitherto, I have a very good opinion of him."

nation; the difficulty was for one so young to pass the ordeal in Leadenhall-street.* The experiment, however, was to be tried. A free passage to India had been promised by Captain Tod of the *Busbridge*, and it was of importance that this should not be lost. So, towards the end of that year, 1781, John Malcolm was taken to the India-House, and was, as his uncle anticipated, in a fair way to be rejected, when one of the Directors said to him, "Why, my little man, what would *you* do if you were to meet Hyder Ali?" "Do, Sir," said the young aspirant, in prompt reply, "I would out with my sword, and cut off his head." "You will do," was the rejoinder; "let him pass." The lofty spirit of the boy atoned for his lowly stature, and that was granted to his big words which would have been denied to his few inches. John Malcolm's first commission was dated in October, 1781.

But he did not embark till some time afterwards. Captain Tod, it appears, was to have sailed in the following March; but circumstances with which I am not acquainted must have caused his detention till the autumn. In the mean while, John Malcolm continued to profit by the kindness of his uncle and the tuition of Mr. Allen;† and embarked for India, at least as well educated as the majority of lads who at that time, with small Latin and less Greek, set their faces towards the "shining Orient."

* *Mr. John Pasley to Mr. George Malcolm; November 13, 1781.* "Johnmy, though tall of his age, I don't know how to dispose of. He certainly will not pass at the India-House, and Tod will sail in March. If he loses this opportunity, next year he may have his passage to pay for. In two or three weeks Tod is expected in town. I will consult him on the subject, and endeavour, if possible, to get him out. Another year at the academy would not hurt him; but though he would be by that means better qualified for his

employment, the delay will be attended with many disadvantages, which I wish to guard against. Whether the appointment is for Madras or Bengal I shall be contented. On Bob's account I would prefer the latter, as his being sent to Madras might not, perhaps, be so agreeable to my brother, which would hurt both."

† Mr. Allen thought him so promising a pupil, that he deplored the boy's early removal, and offered, if it were connected with pecuniary considerations, to educate him gratuitously.

CHAPTER II.

SUBALTERN-LIFE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

[1783—1794.]

ARRIVAL AT MADRAS—DEPARTURE FOR VELLORE—FIRST YEARS OF SERVICE—IDLENESS AND EXTRAVAGANCE—EARLY REFORMATION—THE WAR WITH TIPPŪ—OPERATIONS OF THE NIZAM'S FORCE—ORIENTAL STUDIES—FIRST STAFF APPOINTMENT—RETURN TO ENGLAND.

ON the 16th of April, 1783, the *Busbridge* anchored in Madras Roads. At that place young John Malcolm was received by the widow of his uncle, Gilbert Pasley. The lady had taken another husband, and now bore the name of Ogilvie. After a short residence at the Presidency, he accompanied his new friends to Vellore, and was appointed to do duty with one of the regiments composing the garrison of that fort. Having nothing else to do, he had grown much on the voyage; and his new friends were delighted with his frank, open manners, his sunny temper, and his genial, playful spirit.*

At this time the English in India were at war with

* *Mrs. Ogilvie to Mrs. Malcolm; Vellore, July 5, 1783.* "By this conveyance you will receive letters from your son Jack, who, I suppose, will tell you of our journey up here, and of the wonders he had seen in India. . . . Jack came to us immediately on his landing from Captain Tod's ship, and happy was I, my dear sister, to receive your son, and to do all in my power to

make him happy. He was too young to go to the field, so we brought him up here and got him appointed to the troops in this garrison. He is a very old ensign, though a very young lad. He is grown a head and shoulders, and is one of the finest and best-tempered young lads I ever saw, and very much liked by everybody."

Tippoo,* and at war with the French. When John Malcolm reached Vellore, a body of English troops was laying siege to the French position at Cuddalore. Tidings, however, came of peace in Europe; so hostilities ceased in India against our great continental rival, and left us to turn our undivided energies against our unscrupulous Mysorean foe. Those energies, however, were not exerted in a very formidable manner. Our councils wanted union, and our army wanted a head. There were indecent dissensions at Madras; and the loss of Sir Eyre Coote could not be adequately supplied. So, after another year of desultory warfare, during which no great advantages were gained on either side, negotiations were opened with Tippoo; and on the 11th of May, 1784, a definitive treaty was signed.

Among other articles of this treaty was one for the release of the prisoners taken by the contending powers. Many English officers, in the extremity of suffering and humiliation, had long been hopeless captives in the hands of Hyder Ali and his son. The peace, if it had no other good results, restored to liberty these brave, enduring men; all who had not perished under the cruel hands of their captors. Sir Thomas (then Major) Dallas, who had commanded the escort of the commissioners appointed to negotiate the peace with Tippoo, received charge of the English prisoners, and was instructed to conduct them to the safe precincts of our English territory. At the same time, a detachment of two companies of Sepoys was sent out from our side of the Mysorean frontier to meet Dallas's escort on its way from Seringapatam. In command of this party went Ensign John Malcolm. This was his first service—and it was long remembered by

* Hyder Ali had died in the preceding year, so Johnny Malcolm was spared the necessity of making good his promise at the India-House by cutting off his Highness's head.

others than the youthful hero himself. When the detachment met the prisoners' escort, a bright-faced, healthy English boy was seen by the latter riding up to them on a rough pony. Dallas asked him after his commanding officer. “*I am the commanding officer,*” said young Malcolm. Amid something of pride on one side and amusement on the other, a friendship was formed between the two, which nothing but death terminated. Dallas, who lived to a green old age, survived to see the bright-faced English boy grow into one of the most distinguished officers of his day; and there were few of the reminiscences of his long life to which he resorted with greater pleasure than to this his first meeting with Malcolm, in the old time when Warren Hastings was Governor-General of India.

Of the next five or six years of the young soldier's life the records are very scanty. But I am not sure that the absence of authentic materials relating to this period of his career is much to be regretted. He arrived in India, and was his own master before he was fourteen—an age at which the majority of boys of his station are drinking weak milk-and-water, and being whipped into Latin hexameters. I am afraid that he was not a prodigy of youthful virtue. He was a fine, free-spirited, active, excitable boy, fonder of play of all kinds than of study—a good horseman, a crack shot, accomplished in all gymnastic exercises. In his regiment, and wherever he was known beyond his regiment, he went by the name of “Boy Malcolm”—a name which he retained many years afterwards—there was something so open and joyous in his manner, so active, and so frolicsome. Of course he was beset by all manner of temptations. What he resisted, and what he did not, I do not particularly know; but he was soon immersed in debt, and surrounded by all its attendant difficulties.

One anecdote relating to this period of his life is extant. Being with his regiment at some out-station, and in very straitened circumstances, paying off his debts, I believe, as best he could, and scorning to borrow from his comrades, he was often sore beset for a meal. One day the colonel of his regiment sent for him and said, "I don't see any smoke come out of the chimney of your cook-room, Malcolm—come and breakfast with me." The young soldier fired up at this indelicate invitation—an unwarrantable interference, as he thought, in his private affairs; and he either actually called out the colonel, or was with difficulty restrained from sending the challenge. I have heard, too, that at one time, in the course of these years of early struggle—probably at the identical period to which the above anecdote refers—an old native woman in the bazaar voluntarily supplied him with provisions, for the payment of which, she declared, she was content to wait his own time and convenience. For the good feeling thus displayed, Malcolm was ever grateful; and his gratitude took a practical shape, for he pensioned the good woman to the end of her days.*

It was about the year 1787-88 that the dawn of better things commenced; and young John Malcolm began to see the folly of his ways. He had begun life early, and before he was nineteen was able to speak of himself—and truthfully too—as a reformed character. He was at this time stationed with a wing of his regiment at Masulipatam—where his eldest brother, Robert, was residing as Company's agent—and had made so much progress in

* To render this more intelligible to the purely English reader not acquainted with the history of the Indian services, it should be stated that at this period the pay of the younger Company's officers was much smaller than it is at the present time. This cautionary sentence, however, will be unnecessary to

those who have perused Sir Thomas Munro's delightful letters (in Mr. Gleig's *Memoir*), in which he speaks with so much good-humor of the early hardships to which he was exposed for lack of funds to procure ordinary comforts.

the detail-work of professional duty, that he was appointed to act as adjutant of the detachment. The earliest letter preserved by his family touches on these points, and expresses in a few words so much good penitential feeling, that it would be unjust to the young soldier to omit it:

JOHN MALCOLM TO HIS FATHER.

Masulipatam, Feb. 9, 1788.

MY DEAR FATHER,—My not receiving a single line from you last season, made me almost suppose you thought me no longer worthy of your advice, as I had made such a bad use of what you had formerly bestowed upon me. I must own to my shame you had too much reason to think it would be thrown away. All that I now expect is, that my friends will forget the past (I hope I may now say) part of my conduct. I have informed my mother how very agreeably I am now situated, though I believe I shall not remain long here; as I have been six years and four months an ensign,* I expect promotion every day, and with it a removal. I am at present doing duty as adjutant of that part of my regiment stationed here. Though I receive no pay for doing that duty, it is a great recommendation to a young man to act, as it gives him a chance, when any vacancy happens in the staff line, to be appointed and receive the allowances annexed.

I would with pleasure give you some idea of the politics of this part of the globe if I was in any way competent; but they are so little known, that it is almost impossible to meet with a man who can give any account of them. The Mahrattas and Tippoo have ceased hostilities for this some time past. The latter is now in the field against one of his own vassals on the Malabar coast, called Ibed Beg—but I suppose he will soon be crushed, as it is not possible for him to bring forces nearly sufficient to cope with his master.

I am, dear father,

Your affectionate and dutiful son,

JOHN MALCOLM.

* From this it would appear that his first commission was dated in October, 1781.

It is probable that he owed much to the judicious management of his brother Robert, of whom he always spoke in terms of the warmest affection and the most zealous praise. Robert's kindness was not of that yielding, indulgent sort, which smooths down present difficulties, careless of the amount of evil with which the future may thus be burdened. He thought that the day of reckoning could not come too soon; and therefore not only abstained from assisting John to extricate himself from his pecuniary difficulties, but prevented others from rendering that assistance. John Pasley, the London merchant, always generous, and always fond of his nephew, was willing to make advances to the young soldier which would have relieved him at once from the incumbrance of debt; but Robert Malcolm thought that obligations thus easily discharged might be soon incurred again, and accordingly stopped his uncle's remittances. John was left, therefore, to pay his own debts as best he could; and before the end of 1788, he had discharged them all by his own unaided exertions.*

A life of active service in the field was now before him. The peace had lasted as long as peace generally lasts in India. The turbulent, aggressive spirit of Tippoo Sultan had not been laid to rest. We had many warnings of a coming rupture. But they had been disregarded. And when at last the crisis came—when our insolent enemy threw off the mask and dared the contest by attacking the lines of our ally the Rajah of Travancore—we found ourselves on the eve of a great war, unprepared for the

* *Robert Malcolm to Mrs. Malcolm of Burnfoot; February 26, 1789.* "Do not blame John, poor fellow. Nothing but distress led him to what he did. It was even **unknown** to me until I received my uncle's letters, which I suppressed, and wrote to John in a different style than his uncle had done.

Had he got the money my uncle ordered—viz., 200*l.*—he would effectually have been ruined. But I knew too well his situation to give him a shilling. He has now cleared himself from debt, and is as promising a character in his profession as lives."

coming struggle. The year 1790 dawned upon us with scanty resources and debilitated establishments, making hasty provision for an emergency that had long been foreseen; and paying, as was said by Lord Cornwallis, in millions for our unwillingness to venture on a timely expenditure of groats.

But the war upon which we were now entering was not to be undertaken single-handed. It was as necessary for the peace and security of the Deccan as of our own dominions that the unscrupulous ambition of Tippoo should be held in control. So the ruler of that country, known as the Nizam, took the field as our ally; and the Mahrattas were brought into the confederacy. It happened that at this time Lieutenant Malcolm's regiment* was stationed in the country which lies between the seaboard and the confines of the Nizam's dominions. When, therefore, according to our wont in such cases, a detachment of British troops was ordered to co-operate immediately with our ally, Malcolm's corps formed part of this auxiliary force.

Commencing their march from Ellore—a rapid and laborious one—in the burning month of May, they suffered terribly from the heat of the weather and a fatal scarcity of water. By the middle of July they had reached Rachore, in the Nizam's dominions. "I am now," wrote the young soldier on the 20th of that month to his friends at Burnfoot, "at Rachore, the capital of a beautiful country that bears the same name. It is five hundred miles from Masulipatam. We marched here about ten days ago. Our road was terrible—all rocks and deserts, in the hottest season that perhaps was ever known. The thermometer at 115 deg. for nearly a month. It is true, I assure you, though the hearers of

* The 29th battalion of Native Infantry.

this paragraph, I am sure, will think otherwise. I walked nearly the whole way, as my horse was sick; and we frequently marched at twelve o'clock at night, and did not arrive at our ground till two P.M. next day. We were sometimes greatly distressed for provisions—often forty and fifty hours without any—but that was little compared to the dreadful want of water on the road. You can have no idea of that, as, thank God! you never could have experienced it. Officers in general supply themselves, and have a servant for the purpose; but, in some of our long marches, I have seen men raving mad, go into high fever, and die in a few hours. We are going on service in a few days."

At Bhoospore, the detachment joined the army of the Deccan. The Nizam himself had made a great show of taking the field with all his chief officers of state. His force was computed to number, camp-followers included, 500,000 people, and to cover an area of ten miles by three or four. It was rather an immense migratory multitude than the moving camp of a regular army. The mixture of barbaric splendor with disorder and confusion—the strong contrasts presented everywhere by the magnificence of the Court and the ragged grotesqueness of the inferior components of the motley force—made a strong impression upon the imagination of the young soldier. But that which most filled his mind at this time, was the thought of the misery inflicted on the people of the country through which he passed, by the cruelty and rapacity of the Nizam's troops. Every kind of extortion was practised upon the inhabitants both of their own provinces and the country on the other side of the border after they had passed into Tippoo's dominions. Cowards to the strong—tyrants to the weak—they made enemies, without any local dis-

tinctions, of all who had no power to resist their merciless aggressions.*

The history of Malcolm's first campaign may be given in a few sentences. "When we marched from Rachore to the enemy's country," he says, in an early paper which I have found in a somewhat fragmentary state, "we were said to be accompanied by from 25,000 to 30,000 of the Nizam's troops, with a respectable train of artillery. But this was far from the truth. 18,000 horse and foot were the utmost extent of our numbers, and, with very few exceptions, a more complete set of ragamuffins was never assembled. . . . Nothing worthy of remark happened before we entered into Tippoo's dominions. . . . We met with no place to impede our progress to the westward in the Doab till we came to Copoulee and Behaudur-Bundur—two forts within a mile and a half of each other. . . . Copoulee is, without exception, the strongest place I have seen in India."

After a protracted siege, the place surrendered. "Six tedious months," as young Malcolm wrote, "were spent opposite the fortress, and some valuable lives were lost before it was finally carried." The work fell principally upon the European artillery; and we had then early experience of a fact which subsequently came to be universally understood, that little or no reliance is to be placed

* The following may be taken as an example of the atrocities committed by the Nizam's people—it shows the manner in which the ransom money was collected from a conquered village: "The scene which presented itself to the British officer was beyond all description shocking. The different quotas to be paid by each inhabitant had been fixed; and every species of torture was then being inflicted to enforce it. Men and women, poor and rich, were suffering promiscuously. Some had heavy muskets fastened to their ears; some

large stones upon their breasts; whilst others had their fingers pinched with hot pincers. Their cries of agony and declarations of inability to pay appeared only to whet the appetite of their tormentors. Most of those not under their hands seemed in a state of starvation. Indeed, they were so far distracted with hunger, that many of them, without distinction of sect, devoured what was left by the European officer and Sepoys from their dinner."—[MS. *Memoir by John Malcolm.*]

on native allies, and that therefore, in all nominally conjoint operations, it is expedient to act independently of them. But it was less by the physical agency of our guns than by the moral effect produced by the fall of Bangalore that Copoulee was eventually subdued. Of this fact, the bare outline of which is traced in History, all the more dramatic details are given in one of Malcolm's later journals :

"The strong fortress of Copoulee," he wrote, "had been besieged for six months without our making any practicable breach; but the commandant, from the whole of the country round being conquered, entered into a negotiation for its surrender. The result of this depended in a great degree upon the truth of an account which had been received of the fall of Bangalore. The Minister of Dara Jah asserted that this was the case; but the persons deputed from the fort expressed their doubts of the fact. They were asked what would satisfy them of its truth? 'If Sadoollah Khan* says it is so, we will believe him,' was the reply. He was sent for, and the question put to him. 'I have heard it reported that Bangalore has been taken, but have no positive knowledge of its truth,' was the reply. The Minister was quite indignant, whilst the deputies from the tent exulted at his answer. But he requested of both to be allowed to satisfy himself by going to the English camp. I was in the tent of the commanding officer, Captain Read, when he came to him and asked if Lord Cornwallis had taken Bangalore. Captain R. said he had. 'I beg your pardon,' said he, mildly; 'I know an English officer always speaks truth, but have you received accounts of this event through a channel in which you repose entire confidence?' The official letter which announced it was shown and explained to him. He thanked Captain R., and went direct to the tent where the conference was held, and addressing the deputies, said, 'Bangalore has been taken by the English.' Not a question (I was assured by a person present) was asked, nor an observation made, further

* Sadoollah Khan was a Mussulman chief, of Arab stock, who was held in high repute for his scrupulous vera-

city and good faith in that part of the country.

than the deputies lamenting the bad fortune of their sovereign. They returned into the fort, and the capitulation was instantly signed."

Behaudur-Bundur capitulated a few days afterwards, and the garrisons of both places were humanely permitted to retire without molestation.

After some further operations of no great moment to this narrative, the detachment to which young Malcolm belonged was ordered to join the main body of the Nizam's army, which, accompanied by the Resident, Sir John Kennaway, was then assembling to march upon Seringapatam, and co-operate with the British forces under Lord Cornwallis.

The records of this period of John Malcolm's life are very scanty; but I know enough to declare that we now see him at the turning-point of his career. In the camp of the Nizam he became acquainted with Sir John Kennaway, Mr. Græme Mercer, and others of the diplomatic corps then representing British interests at the Court of Hyderabad. He soon grew into favor with them, and lived for a time in familiar intercourse with the magnates of the Residency. The high position which they occupied; the important duties entrusted to them; the stirring life which they led, fired his young ambition. He began to ask himself whether he might not do likewise. A new world opened out before him. He burned to be a diplomatist.

The first step towards this consummation was to acquire a competent knowledge of the language of the Native Courts. He determined that he would study Persian. His friends of the Residency encouraged this good resolution, and Mr. Græme Mercer lent "Boy Malcolm" the services of his moonshee. And very resolutely did the young man apply himself to the mastery of the

Oriental character and the construction of the language.* His younger companions laughed at him, and endeavoured to lure him back to his old pursuits. But he had laid aside his gun, and manfully declared that he would not fire another shot, or mount his horse again, until he had made certain progress in his studies.

And he studied to some purpose. Nor was it to the native languages alone that he applied himself at this time. He seems to have begun not only to reflect, but to record his reflections upon the interesting events which were passing before him—upon the character of the people by whom he was surrounded—the nature of the connexion existing between the British power and the Native States; and the conduct to be observed by the

* See the following extract of a letter from Mr. Græme Mercer to Captain Hamilton: "Our acquaintance commenced in 1791, when I was attached to the Residency at Hyderabad, and John joined us as an ensign in the detachment of Madras troops which was settled by treaty to be stationed in the Nizam's country. He soon became a favorite with us all, and particularly with Sir John Kennaway, the Resident. He was then a careless, good-humored fellow, illiterate, but with pregnant ability. He took a fancy to learn Persian, and I made over to him my moonshee, under whom he made rapid improvement. The Residency soon afterwards marched with the Nizam's son and Minister to join Lord Cornwallis's army, and I have no recollection what became of Malcolm, but a faint one that he had lost his health with the detachment, and returned to the Company's provinces."

In another letter, addressed to Mr. Elphinstone, the same writer says: "He was quite illiterate when he joined us, but an adept in all games, and a capital shot; and, in short, possessed an intellect which only required to be set a-going, either for good or evil. He had been

accused of gambling before I knew him; but I never heard of his exercising his talents in that way after he had been engaged in any employment of consequence. His overflowing spirits made him riotous, and he was generally known by the name of 'Boy Malcolm.' I think I recollect his *speeling* the tent-poles with Edmonstone, and probably all of us; but gymnastics formed a great part of our amusements, and he excelled in them. I gave him the use of my moonshee for some time, and he dubbed him 'Long Tom.' Ten years afterwards, on his return from Persia, when we were both voyaging up the Ganges with Lord Wellesley, John came into my boat. Finding his old friend Long Tom with me, he embraced him most cordially, and began to narrate his adventures; but, stopping short, he said, 'It is nonsense to be prolix—in short, whatever you have *read*, I have seen.' 'Ay, Boy Malcolm,' replied the moonshee; 'I hope you will indulge me then with particulars of the journey of Mahomed to heaven upon a Borak.' This, John said, was one of the few points he had not had an opportunity of inspecting himself, or ascertaining from others."

former. He was, in a word, preparing himself to graduate in the school of diplomacy, eager for an opening whereby he might obtain admission even to the lowest class. And it was not long before such an opening seemed to present itself. Referring to this period of his life, Sir John Malcolm, in after years, used to relate that a vacancy having occurred in one of the diplomatic circles of Southern India, he was prompt to make application for the post; but was anticipated by a quarter of an hour. As he entered the great man's tent to prefer his petition, he met, issuing from it, a young officer upon whom the appointment had been conferred.* He was told, that if he had called a little sooner, the assistantship should have been his. Thus he lost it; and so bitter was his disappointment, that on returning to his tent he threw himself down and wept with very grief and vexation. But the loss, though he knew it not, was great gain to him. It was nothing less than the gain of his life. The officer who had anticipated him had no sooner proceeded to the scene of his new duties, than he was murdered in open Court. It was not the man, but the office-bearer—the representative of the English Conqueror—who had been marked out as the victim: so Malcolm, had he been suffered, in this instance, to shape his own course, and to succeed in his own way, would have perished miserably at the very threshold of his diplomatic career. This lesson was not thrown away. It was often dwelt upon, in after years, gratefully and reverentially, and impressed with becoming fervor on his children. He whose ways

* There is necessarily more or less vagueness in all traditionary anecdotes of this kind. Whether the appointment for which Malcolm applied was in the gift of one of the Residents (perhaps Sir John Kennaway), or whether at a little later period, as may be in-

ferred from the preceding note, he was in Lord Cornwallis's camp, and the application was made to the Governor-General himself, must remain a matter of doubt. The story, however, loses little by this want of circumstantiality in its details.

are not our ways had mercifully vouchsafed to preserve him, turning the apparent failure into a bountiful deliverance, and teaching him the folly of human repinings.

It was after the field-operations briefly noticed above that young Malcolm, for the first time, attempted an historical record of the events in which he had been an humble actor. In this early paper may be traced the germs of much which in after days made up the perfection of his character as a soldier and a diplomatist—a mixture of firmness and gentleness—of sagacity and courage. I have mentioned how much the oppressions exercised by the Nizam's troops upon the defenceless people weighed upon his mind. It is pleasant to learn that the forbearance and good conduct of the Company's troops presented a remarkable contrast to the licentiousness of their allies. On this fact the young narrator dwelt with manifest delight. After recording an instance of the protection afforded by a British officer to some persecuted villagers, he proceeded thus with his narrative:

“It fell to my lot afterwards to witness an occurrence not very dissimilar to the afore-mentioned, where the commanding officer, by a spirited refusal to comply with a requisition of men for oppressive purposes made by a leader whom he was ordered to assist with troops when required, not only gained the approbation of the English Resident at Hyderabad, but the esteem and respect of his own troops and those of our ally. The latter are lavish in their admiration of the justice and discipline observed by the Company's troops, though they never think of imitating them. I cannot here omit mentioning a trifling anecdote to the credit of our Sepoys. Whenever the guard paraded to march to the ill-fated village I have mentioned, they made a collection of as much rice as each man could afford to give for the starving inhabitants. This was distributed when they went. Such conduct (which was not confined to this single instance) was deemed folly, and excited a smile of pity on the countenances of the unfeeling, plundering horsemen of the Nizam's army, but made different impressions on

the inhabitants of the country. They, accustomed to the worst of treatment, received at first with suspicion and hesitation the kind protection which we always gave them when in our power. Convinced of its reality, and of our acting thus upon system, they spread our fame far and near. The sight of a Company's Sepoy quieted the minds and gave assurance of safety to a body of unfortunate wretches who, the moment before, were trembling at the thoughts of being plundered, and perhaps murdered, by our allies. I could observe no difference in the conduct of the Irregular Horse when in their own country and in that of the enemy. They seemed to consider the defenceless everywhere as their prey, and to attack all under that denomination indiscriminately. The spirit of intrepidity which our Sepoys showed in defending those they were ordered to protect, deterred our allies from venturing on plunder where they saw them posted. The strong prepossession which the inhabitants of every country through which the English detachment marched must have had for them, may, in some future day, be of the highest value. Reputation for justice and humanity preceding an army is of more consequence than an advanced guard of 10,000 men."

From the following noticable passage, taken from the same early paper, it may be gathered that even at this period of his life he had reflected upon those principles of conduct in accordance with which, in maturer years, he shaped his diplomatic career: .

"An invariable rule ought to be observed by all Europeans who have connexions with the natives of India—never to practise any art or indirect method of gaining their end, and from the greatest occasion to the most trifling to keep sacred their word. This is not only their best, but their wisest policy. By this conduct they will observe a constant superiority in all their transactions; but when they act a different part—when they condescend to meet the smooth-tongued Mahomedan, or the crafty Hindoo, with the weapons of flattery, dissimulation, and cunning, they will to a certainty be vanquished. For a successful practice in these little arts, perhaps no people on earth excel the natives of India. They begin the study as they learn to speak, and continue

it with unintermitting application through their lives. A friend of mine who lately came to India, strongly struck with this characteristic, observed, that from what he had seen he was convinced that if a bag containing a thousand pagodas were placed between William Pitt and a Madras Dubash, and if the attainment of the money so placed were to depend on specious art and cunning, the former would not get ten out of the thousand. I shall conclude this long digression with recommending a very circumscribed and cautious confidence to be placed by Europeans—especially those in power—in their native servants. Men who neither have, nor pretend to have, honor themselves, are not the properest guardians for that of others; and when they are detected in having pursued their interest beyond the strict bounds of justice, the master, however innocent, meets with heavy censure; and though his guilt is short of what an ill-natured public think of it, he deserves blame for having placed confidence where he was not warranted. Lord Cornwallis, whose abilities, joined to the opportunities he had of gaining information on this subject, give his opinion the greatest weight, on all occasions testified his marked disapprobation of employing the natives in a confidential manner, and held the master strictly responsible for the acts of his servants."

Nor is the following less remarkable as an indication of the early growth of those opinions respecting the collision of the commercial and political elements in the constitution of the East India Company, and the inexpediency of suffering the former to predominate—opinions which came to be moulded into a leading article of faith with the disciples of what in after years was called the "Malcolm School" of Indian politicians:

"Economy in a Government is, no doubt, a most laudable quality. But it may easily be carried too far; and, by an imprudent practice of it in a rigid degree, it is possible, without any injustice, to ruin the country. The Court of Directors give credit to that Governor who realises the best revenue; he gives the same credit to inferior Boards, they to collectors, and so on: thus a system of realising on the public account as much as possible is established; and if a person of a more liberal judgment points out

the good policy of building granaries, of repairing tanks and roads, of restoring choultries, of walling villages—in short, of any measure that he thinks would tend to the comfort or safety of the inhabitants—that he thinks would alleviate, if not entirely prevent, the horrors they are, from their situation, likely to suffer from war or famine—he is treated as a speculator, and his counsel neglected. In short, they know that the expense attendant on all such schemes would be considerable, and that lessening the revenue even for one year is not the way to gain the approbation of their honorable employers.”

In the autumn of 1791, John Malcolm fell sick, and was compelled to proceed to the Coast. He had borne up against the summer-heats better than he had expected;* but in November, although there was much stirring work on hand, for Lord Cornwallis was preparing to advance on Tippoo's capital, his health was so shattered by long exposure to the climate, that he was necessitated to quit the Camp and visit Madras.† From the Presi-

* “I have kept my health,” he wrote to his friends at Burnfoot, “as yet, better than could have been expected from being obliged to march at such a season. You will think me a traveller, when I assure you that the thermometer has been upwards of 100 degrees every day since we left Kurpa, and was, the day before yesterday, 110 degrees, in the coolest tent of the lines. We have not had a shower of rain for four months, and have little prospect of being blessed with any for two months to come. The state of the country is indescribable. So many of the inhabitants have already perished from want, that even if a fall of rain would admit of their once more cultivating their country, I am afraid that there are not enough left to perform the work of cultivation. . . . We have our Camp at present in a thick wood near the hills. We expect daily to move towards our old fort, Copoulee. It and all the countries around it were ceded by the late treaty to the Nizam. The inhabitants found the difference between the mild and just government of Tippoo and the oppressive and weak

management of the Nizam too great to bear. They were plundered by the Nizam's officers, and have, in consequence, rebelled. We are to be sent to reduce them—poor wretches!—to obedience, and to be the instruments of oppression. It is with the utmost difficulty that rice is procured to supply our troops; and as the supplying the Camp almost entirely falls on my station, I cannot now leave Camp, which I intend to do as soon as possible, and to pay a visit to my brother and the sea-coast.” This letter, like many of Malcolm's at all periods of his career, is without date. How much easier biography would be, if so large a portion of its materials were not, for want of some record of the time and place of their birth, utterly valueless without an exercise of inference and analogy very troublesome indeed to the biographer.

† I have not been able to trace the precise spot at which he quitted Camp and proceeded to the Coast, but if Malcolm at this time (the latter end of 1791) was, as Mr. Græme Mercer re-

dency, where it would seem that he was almost tempted to apply for leave on sick-certificate to England, and to take his passage in the *Manship*, he wrote to his mother, on the 9th of January, 1792, "You will learn from other letters the situation of my health. I leave this in four hours for Camp. The packet *Canada* is this instant come from England. I have as yet got no letters, but am just going into the fort along with Mr. Haliburton (at whose gardens I now live) to try and get some, if there are any for me. Mr. Petrie has promised much, and his behaviour to me since I came down to Madras has been very attentive. I have not seen Colonel Harris yet, but will, I hope, soon. He is able to serve me if he has inclination."

And it was well that he did not return to England. Had he done so, he would have lost an opportunity which might never have been regained. He joined Lord Cornwallis's camp before Seringapatam, and his merits were soon recognised and rewarded by that nobleman. It happened that an officer with some knowledge of the Persian language was required to act as interpreter to the troops serving with the Nizam; and Malcolm, then a lieutenant, was selected, on the score of especial fitness, for the post. It is probable that Sir John Kennaway, who accompanied the army, brought his young friend's qualifications to the notice of the Governor-General. Be this as it may, John Malcolm had now planted his foot on the ladder; and from this time to the close of his career, he was uninterruptedly employed on the Staff.*

lates, "speeling tent-poles with Edmonstone," he must have reached the head-quarters of the army; for the latter gentleman was at that time Persian translator to Lord Cornwallis, who was at Bangalore in November.

* Nearly thirty years afterwards, Malcolm wrote to his old friend, Mr. Cockburn: "I served as a regimental

officer with European and Native corps (without ever having one week's leave of absence) for nine years. In 1792, when at Seringapatam, I was appointed Persian interpreter to the detachment serving with the Nizam by the Marquis Cornwallis, on the express ground of being the officer with that corps best qualified for the station."

On his return to Camp, he wrote to the family at Burnfoot :

"I wrote you last when I was on my return to Camp, after an absence of two months, which my health necessitated me to make. I was very near taking my passage at that time in the *Manship*, and I almost wish now that I had. I should have been, at this time, most probably enjoying good health and amongst my relations. Don't think that I have any great attachment to those cold regions that you live in—so far from it, that were my relations in India, I never would think of home. When I can afford it a little better than I now can, I will, *sans doute*, take a trip to see my friends, and at the same time renovate a broken constitution.

"When our little Camp was ordered to halt here, we were warned from building, as our stay was supposed to be very uncertain. But this could not prevent a set of men who had been three years in bad tents from housing themselves. In short, we thought it was impossible to pay too dearly for a little comfort, and erected a cantonment of very excellent buildings. My house consists of a hall, bedroom, cook-room, and stable, which cost me about three hundred rupees. I have now been in it six months, and if I moved to-morrow would not repent the expense. I am a hard student at the Persian when other business does not intervene; and when I meet with a pretty story, shall send a translation home to my sisters. . . . Why don't they think of sending out a young brother? I want one, that I may play the elder brother and monitor—parts that I am just beginning to learn how to act."

It would seem that soon after his return to Camp, the state of his health little recruited by his brief visit to Madras, compelled him again to repair to the sea-side.*

* This is stated on the authority of Mr. Graeme Mercer, who, in a letter already quoted in part, says, "On our return to Hyderabad from Seringapatam, I accompanied Sir John Ken- naway to the sea-coast, to rally a little after our campaign, when Malcolm joined us. He was then very unwell, and his constitution seemed to be so much broken that I strongly urged him to get leave to return for some time to Europe. He took my advice,

There he met his friends Sir John Kennaway and Mr. Græme Mercer. The war with Tippoo had been brought to a close before the end of February; and the Residency having returned to Hyderabad, these gentlemen had gone down to the Coast to recruit their energies after the fatigues of the campaign. The climate of the country had for some time been doing its sure work upon Malcolm's constitution. He had been much exposed to the sun during the worst season of the year, and his health had suffered to such an extent, that it was beyond the power of a brief sojourn at the sea-side to repair the ravages it had sustained. He was unwilling to return to England, for he believed that he was now in a fair way to rise in his profession. But it was impossible to struggle any longer against the increasing debility which rendered exertion painful, and good public service almost an impossibility. His friends counselled the trial of a milder climate. Sir John Kennaway himself was then about to return to England, and he recommended that Malcolm should accompany him. The good advice was not thrown away. The young soldier sent in his papers, obtained leave of absence, and in the cold season of 1793-94 prepared to embark for England. In the course of February,* the vessel in which he had taken his passage sailed out of the Madras Roads; and under the invigorating influence of the pure breezes on the open sea and the *dolce-far-niente* of life on shipboard, his health soon began to revive.

Of this homeward voyage I know little, except that he devoted some part of his abundant leisure to the study

and as Kennaway was also returning to Europe, Malcolm embarked with him in the course of the following season."

* "In February, 1794, I was obliged to embark for England for the reco-

very of my health, which had suffered severely from the fatigues to which I had been exposed during the four years that I had been in the field with the Nizam's detachment."—[*MS. Memorandum.*]

of the Oriental languages, in which he was assisted by his friend Kennaway. That he either quarrelled, or intrigued, or over-ate himself, as men are wont on shipboard, I do not think very probable. But I have little doubt that he promoted and took active part in every frolicsome expedient for relieving the tedium and diversifying the monotony of the voyage, which his own ingenuity or that of his fellow-passengers could devise. Even a retiring Governor-General, embarking in the midst of an unexampled crisis, has been known to divert himself with pitch-and-toss on the way home. And we may fairly assume that "Boy Malcolm" played at ship-billiards and leap-frog on the quarter-deck, and at whist in the cuddy; that he shot Cape-hens, haply an albatross or two; speared porpoises and bonetes, and angled off the poop for sharks. It would have been very much unlike him, not to have been foremost in all such recreations as these.

In the course of July he reached England, from which he had been absent some twelve years. They had been years of toil and trial bravely and hopefully encountered. He had borne the burden and heat of the day during those years as one of the working officers of the army; and they had made him a good soldier. Henceforth we shall see him mainly in the character of a diplomatist and an administrator. But he had learnt much during his early subaltern-life in Southern India—much that was never forgotten. The habits and the feelings of a soldier clung to him throughout his career. Whatever might be his official environments, his heart was continually turning with a tender and sympathising interest to the single-poled tent of the regimental officer and the matted hut of the faithful Sepoy.

CHAPTER III.

FURLOUGH TO ENGLAND.

[1794—1795.]

RESTORATION OF HEALTH—DETENTION IN LONDON—INTRODUCTION TO GENERAL CLARKE—VISITS TO BURNFOOT AND ALVA—RESOLUTION TO RETURN TO INDIA—ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE VOYAGE—APPOINTMENT TO THE STAFF OF GENERAL CLARKE—DEPARTURE FROM ENGLAND—CAPTURE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

THE records of John Malcolm's sojourn in England at this time are but scanty. The benefit which he derived from the homeward voyage was so great, that he had scarcely set foot on his native soil before he began to think that he was in a condition to return to India again. Nothing but necessity could keep him away from the scenes on which something within him whispered that he was destined to achieve distinction.

It was great joy to him to be in Eskdale again—to receive the blessings of his parents and the embraces of his sisters—and to look with a man's eyes upon the dear old burn and the familiar hills, which had put on their best purple to greet him. But he had work to do in London—not the less imperative because it was not marked out by others, and written down in an order-

book. So the autumn found him busy in the great metropolis ; with his heart at Burnfoot all the same.*

The constitution of the Anglo-Indian army was at this time a prominent subject of investigation and discussion with the authorities of the East India Company and the Crown, and in all military circles throughout India and the mother country. The Company's army had for some time been in an extreme state of depression. It was ridden over at all points by the royal service. The Company's officers did all the drudgery work ; the King's bore all the honors. For the former there was no higher rank than that of colonel. The battalions were commanded by captains. Promotion was intolerably languid. There were no retiring pensions. There was no furlough-pay even for sick officers. This state of things, severely felt as it was throughout the commissioned ranks of the army, had been readily apprehended by the benevolent mind of Lord Cornwallis, who had drawn up a scheme for the reorganisation of the Indian service, which was naturally regarded with extraordinary interest by all whom it concerned, both at home and abroad. From the armies of the three Presidencies deputies were despatched to England to watch the momentous proceedings of the authorities ; and wherever the English uniform was worn, or

* To one of his sisters he wrote in October : " I fear there is little prospect of my being down in Scotland as soon as I expected. The present is a very eventful time for my interests, and I must attend to it myself, or I cannot expect others will. I want no extra-inducements to hasten my return to Burnfoot. My inclinations, when I can indulge them, will always lead me there, for rest assured that I drag a lengthened chain everywhere else." From another letter, written a week afterwards, I may take a brief passage :

" My uncle and I," wrote John Malcolm, " went to see the new play ; but finding the doors of Covent Garden Theatre not open, we wandered over to Drury Lane, and were tempted in to see Shakspeare's *As You Like It*, which was imitabably well performed. Mrs. Jordan acted *Rosalind*. She is incomparable. The plaudits bestowed upon her shook the house ; and she deserved them all. No one ever copied nature with more success. I wish you had her in Langholm for a fortnight."—[October 30, 1794.]

men were gathered together who had once worn it, there was this great project earnestly discussed.

It was natural that a question so important in itself, and personally so interesting to every officer of the Company's service, should have engaged at this time much of Malcolm's attention. He communicated his ideas respecting the claims of the Company's officers to many men in authority at home, and appealed to the general Public through the medium of the Press. His first appearance as a public writer was in a long letter signed "MULLAGATAUNAY," and published, I believe, in the *North Briton*, in which the whole question is considered in a very clear and comprehensive manner. The grievances under which the Company's officers labored were described, one by one, in language at once forcible and moderate. He dwelt upon the galling fact that no officer of the Indian army could, by the existing system, rise higher than the rank of colonel. He spoke of the services that had been rendered by men brought up in the bosom of that army—by Lawrence, by Clive, by Smith; of their knowledge of the manners and languages of the people of India, which gave them "innumerable advantages over a general immediately appointed from home;" and asked whether it was just or politic to tell such a body of men that they were not only forbidden to aspire to the chief command,*

* Speaking of the chief command, he said in a subsequent paragraph: "I freely own that I conceive the station of Commander-in-Chief of any of the three settlements to be one of so serious and important a nature, and to involve so much responsibility, that I am convinced the selection of a man for that office will and always should remain in the hands of the Ministry; but I hope they will be happy to seize the first opportunity that offers of showing that when they meet with a man whose known abilities and past actions speak

him equal to the task, his being a Company's officer shall be no preclusion to his being elevated to that distinguished rank. It ought, on the contrary, to give him additional claims." Sixty years have passed since this was written; but the invidious distinction of which Malcolm then complained has not yet been practically removed. No officer of the Company's service has been appointed to the chief command of one of our Indian Presidencies, up to the time in which I now write—the summer of 1855.

but that they were never to attain any higher rank than that of colonel—"in plain language," he said, "that they were only qualified to fill subordinate stations, and that men educated on the fields of Germany or America should be regularly sent to lead them to victory on the plains of Hindostan." Then he referred to the stagnation of promotion in the Company's army. He showed how, in an army lacking the higher grades, and recently subjected to great reductions in the strength of its establishment, the avenues to promotion were necessarily blocked up; he pointed out that a battalion of Sepoys, as the army was then constituted, of the strength of a King's regiment, was commanded by a captain and eight subalterns, and that a captain of one of the royal regiments, commanding only a company, superseded the Company's officer in command of an entire corps. "To obviate this," he said, "and to give that promotion which the Company's officers have such good reason to expect, it is requested that a lieutenant-colonel, a major, and a similar number of captains and subalterns as are deemed necessary for the discipline and duties of a corps in every other service, be appointed to each Sepoy battalion."* "This measure adopted," he added, "the stream will again flow; hope will take the place of despondency. The drooping veteran will revive, and anxiously seek an opportunity of showing he is not ungrateful to his country for the notice it has deigned to take of him."

Having brought forward other cogent arguments in support of the expediency of increasing the number of Sepoy officers, Malcolm proceeded to point out the third

* It need hardly be said that the reorganisation here spoken of was carried into effect. But owing to the increased longevity of Indian officers, promotion is not more rapid than it was under the old system. In this paper Malcolm says: "By a calcula-

tion made on the average of the three Presidencies, the youngest major-general would have served in India thirty years," &c. The average age of the major-generals of the Company's service is now sixty-two; which gives an average of more than forty years of service.

great grievance of the Company's army—the want of proper Furlough and Retiring Regulations. He showed that if a Company's officer, on account of ill-health contracted, or wounds inflicted in the public service, was necessitated to leave the country for a while, his pay immediately ceased until his return; and that, in consequence of the non-existence of any “comfortable and honorable retreat for the wounded and infirm veteran in his native country, he was compelled to pass the rest of a short life in an ungenial climate; banished from his native country and from every one he holds most dear, or return to his friends, after an absence of twenty years, an object of charity, abandoned by those masters in whose service he had lost his blood, or spent his days of vigor and youth.” We read of this state of things now as we do of the rack or the thumb-screw, with curious antiquarian interest. The Furlough and Retiring Regulations of the East India Company's army are now the most liberal and most humane that have ever been devised for any military establishment in the world.

Having thus set forth the peculiar grievances of the Company's army, Malcolm declared that there was good reason to believe that they would be speedily removed, as the interests of the Company's army had been entrusted to good and to true hands :

“It is peculiarly fortunate,” he wrote in conclusion, “that those who from their stations must decide on the claims of the Company's army, are men eminently qualified for the task. The Court of Directors are disposed to grant every relief; and Mr. Dundas, President of the Board of Control, has in his plans for the Government of India evinced a most extensive knowledge of the British interests in the East, and has suggested a mode of securing and improving them that does equal credit to his wisdom and liberality. No man could give a more enlightened opinion upon this subject; but he, and every other person, seem to turn their eyes upon the Marquis Cornwallis as the person who, from great abilities and recent experience, is best calculated

to recommend a satisfactory plan for the new modelling of the Indian army. And from whom can the Company's officers expect a more equitable consideration than from that elevated character who* for a period of six years had a daily opportunity of observing, and so often gave the most flattering testimonies of his approbation and admiration of their conduct? No one ever more lamented the grievances he saw they were at times obliged to endure, from the narrowness of the system upon which their service is now established. . . . In my opinion, the interests of the army cannot be in better hands. I may be accused of being too sanguine, but I shall never cease to think as I now do until the event proves that I have erred."

This paper attracted some notice at the time, and in conjunction with other communications of a more private character, recommended the Madras subaltern to the consideration of men in authority. Among others who recognised the value of the document, and noticed with commendation the writer, was Mr. Dundas, the President of the Board of Control.* It was the first of those numerous elaborate papers on the military affairs of our Indian Empire, which caused him in time to be regarded as the very first authority on all subjects connected with the affairs of the Indian army.† Nor at this time were all his efforts made with the pen. He was one of many Company's officers who met in London to deliberate on the affairs of the army. "I will accompany Pulteny to Cambridge to see you if I can," he wrote, on the 21st of

* In a memorandum of his services, written many years afterwards, Malcolm says: "When in England, circumstances led to my making public my sentiments on the military arrangements for the Company's army, which were then under discussion; and the tendency which those sentiments had to inform and satisfy the public mind upon that subject was recognised by Lord Melville, then President of the Board of Control, and several other

distinguished characters, in terms flattering to my feelings."

† See the latest testimony to this effect in the speech of Sir Erskine Perry, on the 10th of May, 1855. The speaker, however, erred when he cited Sir John Malcolm as an authority in favor of the amalgamation of the Queen's and Company's army. This subject will be noticed in a subsequent chapter of the Memoir.

October, to his brother Gilbert, then a student at that university, "but I have been attending meetings (no treason) these last two days, and shall be in the same predicament for four or five more. A ship soon leaves this for India, and the Company's officers now in London are attending to the interests of their fellow-soldiers. You will change your address of *Lieutenant* to *Captain* in a month or two."

It would seem that during this sojourn in London he renewed his acquaintance, either personally or by letter, with General Ross, who had been secretary to Lord Cornwallis; and that partly through the General's influence, and partly through that of Colonel Dirom, who had been Quartermaster-General during the first Mysore war, and had written a history of the campaign, he was recommended to the favorable notice of Sir Alured Clarke. That officer was about to proceed as Commander-in-Chief to Madras, and appeared not unwilling to listen to the recommendations which were made to him in favor of Lieutenant Malcolm. At what precise period the introduction took place I do not know; but it led in time to important results, and shaped the whole future of Malcolm's career.

There were others, too, with whom he renewed his acquaintance—his brothers Pulteny and James. They arrived from the West Indies in October, and John met them with a full heart, delighted to embrace them again. Both were on the high road to distinction. It was a happy meeting, made happier by the circumstances that, during his brief visit to London, Lord Chatham, then First Lord of the Admiralty, made Pulteny a post-captain, and soon afterwards appointed him to the command of the *Fox*.*

The family pictures of the young sailor drawn at this

* "I was fully resolved to visit Cambridge, but yesterday Lord Chatham put it out of my power by appointing me to the *Fox*, well manned and ready

time are very charming. "I never saw Pulteny look so well," wrote one of his sisters from Burnfoot, to which he paid a brief visit in November. "He is very handsome, and has the most open, manly countenance I ever saw. His manner is uncommonly cheerful, and he possesses a flow of good-humoured raillery. He will be the delight of every party he enters. He only stayed with us one week."

Of James, too, "our open-hearted, generous James," these sisters wrote in terms of loving eulogy. And what said they of John? We may be sure he did not appear less attractive in their eyes. "I dare say," wrote one sister to brother Gilbert, then studying at Cambridge, "you are longing for a letter about our Indian brother. The cause of our silence is really the delight we take in that brother, which makes us regret every moment we are absent from him. When every one prepared us to love and admire him, we scarcely dared hope our expectations would be fulfilled; and I must not hesitate to pronounce them surpassed." "I do not think I have written to you," wrote another sister to Gilbert, "since I had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with this most excellent brother, of whom I think more highly than I can express. His heart, head, disposition and manners, are truly excellent. Any one of them taken separately, and placed among even unpleasant qualities, would render a character worthy of admiration; but when united, as in his attractive person, they form a character that does honor to the human race. Your friend Mrs. Elliot writes of him in the highest terms; and Mr. Johnstone says he is the finest young man he ever saw." Good reason, indeed, had those young Eskdale lassies

for sea. I shall join her to-morrow. John is with me, and will, I hope, accompany me to Portsmouth. The few days I spent at Burnfoot were delightful. Nowhere do I find such a house." In the *For*, Pulteny Malcolm carried out Colonel Arthur Wellesley (the Duke of Wellington) to India.

to be proud of three such brothers as James, Pulteny, and John Malcolm!

Nor were these all of whom something must be said in this place. George Malcolm, it has been stated, had ten sons. Robert, the eldest, as has been shown, was in the Madras Civil Service. Then followed James, Pulteny, and John. Thomas, the fifth son, was engaged in mercantile affairs; and two younger brothers, David and William, were in training for a similar line of life. Another son, George, a Lieutenant in the Navy, had died early in this year (1794) of yellow fever, at the boyish age of eighteen.* Charles, then a boy, was to enter the same service under Pulteny's protection; and Gilbert, the sixth son, was then a student at Cambridge; a youth of promising talents, amiable disposition, and unostentatious piety, which ripened into the perfection of a character suited to the career that was marked out for him—the peaceful career of a country clergyman.

* The death of George cast a broad shadow over the family party at Burnfoot, and filled every member of it not only with grief for the dead, but fear for the living. Pulteny and James were in the West Indies, within the influence of the yellow fever, and John, by the last accounts, in bad health in the East. In a family of seventeen children, it was a proof of the signal favor of the Almighty that death up to this time had not once broken in upon their happiness. But for the very reason, perhaps, that they were so favored they felt the blow most severely when it came. The family letters, written early in 1794, contain many such passages as these: "We have many causes of alarm at present. You would observe the arrival of the *Queen Charlotte*. She seems to have spoken with several homeward-bound ships, in one of which we hope John may be. Sometimes we flatter ourselves that Robert or John may have written, but if no letters come by this

day's post, this hope will vanish. Were we to hint to my father our hopes that John may arrive in tolerable health, he would consider us wanting in feeling."—"Pulteny, I fear, is in the greatest danger. That fatal fever still rages. May our Almighty God preserve him. What a shock George's death will be to James on his arrival. But nothing is to be compared with what poor Pulteny must have felt on going on board the *Penelope* to see him for the last time."—"We had two of the kindest letters from uncle John (Pasley). He is very anxious, he allows, about John, but he will not suffer a gloomy thought on the subject. God grant he may reach us in tolerable health."—He arrived in such excellent health and admirable condition that many jokes were cut at his expense. One of the Directors of the Company, on seeing him, observed, drily, that "the Indian gentlemen have a happy knack of recovering their health on the voyage."

Nor were the sisters of the family unworthy of their brothers. "You said a great deal," wrote John to a member of the family, "but I now think that you gave but a cold description of Burnfoot and its inhabitants." He was as much pleased with them as they were with him. The meeting could not have been a happier one.

But the happiness was only too brief. The young soldier spent his Christmas at Burnfoot; and it would seem that, during the visit, he finally resolved to return to India in the course of the ensuing spring, with a good prospect of accompanying General Clarke as secretary or aide-de-camp. From Burnfoot he went to Edinburgh, and thence to Alva, the estate of the Johnstones. From that place he wrote to one of his sisters at Burnfoot, on the 18th of January:

"You don't seem pleased with my resolution to return to India; but I am sure I will convince you when we meet that I have not only acted a prudent part, but that I should have been highly culpable had I done otherwise. I applied to Mr. Bell, and rather exaggerated than diminished in my account of both my past and present ailments; and his opinion was decided and positive for me to go. 'There is a tide in the affairs of men,' &c., and I like to go with the tide in my favor. I have tugged against it in my day.

"My uncle John, in answer to my letter from Burnfoot, strongly objects to my return, and urges much against it. In his answer to a very full one I wrote from Edinburgh, he allows that the reasons I give for the part I then determined to act were unanswerable, and that he could not but approve. I am yet in the dark with regard to General Clarke's motions, but must be in London before the middle of February. *If* I go with him (there is much virtue in your *if*), most undoubtedly it will be as one of his family. . . . I pass my time very pleasantly here. I keep much within doors for two reasons:—1st. The continual fall of snow for some days past has rendered both riding and walking disagreeable. 2ndly. My legs are quite recovered, and I wish not to induce a relapse by too early exertions. I am sorry I was not at home to see and hear Catherine Armstrong. Tell Minny that she speaks of her so highly, that I will waive all con-

siderations of caste, and do hereby empower her to open a treaty of matrimony between her and me."—[*Alva, January 18, 1795.*]

I am told that during this winter he attended some of the college classes in Edinburgh, to which attractive city he returned after his visit to Alva. There are those now living who remember him at that time as a light-hearted, amusing young man of five-and-twenty, with a great thirst after knowledge, and a prodigious memory. He would give the substance, often the very words of a lecture which he had heard, with extraordinary accuracy, or repeat a sermon (sometimes imitating the peculiar manner of the preacher) with equal fidelity. The society of Edinburgh delighted him. It need hardly be said that he was hospitably entertained in a city where every man of good character and intelligence is sure to be hospitably entertained. "You are acquainted with this town," he wrote to his brother Gilbert, on the 22nd of February. "It is, in my opinion, one of the most agreeable I ever was in. Probably the flattering attention I have met with makes me a partial judge. But as there is no place in the world where such encouragement is given to literary men, so I believe there are nowhere to be found men of more deep learning and science. Learning is a plant cultivated in proportion to the demand. Independent of the medical line, the law, and some others, the numerous professors' chairs hold out rewards both of fame and fortune to the aspiring youth. . . . I have been both instructed and entertained by a casual attendance at some of their classes. I have given up a good deal of my time to the Oriental Professor, a sensible, modest man. His name is Mudie. I have read Persian with him whenever I have had a leisure hour, and have found him grateful to a degree for the little instruction I could give him. I was so happy as to be made acquainted with Dr. Blair, and was in the

habit of paying him frequent visits, until our intercourse was interrupted by a severe misfortune happening to him. His wife, a partner of forty-six years, fell a victim to the severity of the weather.”*

A boy who goes out to India at the age of twelve can carry little education with him. John Malcolm had long felt the want of scholastic training, and had been endeavouring to compensate for it by assiduous self-cultivation, carried on as it always must be under difficulties, amidst the turmoil of the camp. The idea of improving his mind had been ever present to him when he turned his thoughts towards home, and had had no small share in inducing him to return to England. “The satisfaction of seeing my relations and the improvement of myself,” he wrote to his mother,† “exclusive of the perfect re-establishment of my health, are very great inducements to a man of my way of thinking.” “My favorite amusement,” he said, in the same letter, “is reading; and being assisted with a good memory, I seldom have occasion to read a work twice. Of all reading I prefer history. It pleases most upon reflection, and the impressions it makes are more lasting. Poetry is a pleasant relaxation, but I believe I expose my want of taste when I confess that there are very few poets that I can dwell upon with much satisfaction. I have for some years past made the languages of this country my

* The winter was a very severe one. In this letter Malcolm says that he was detained at Edinburgh “by an irregular sally of this charming climate for the short space of thirty-two days.”

† In this letter, written before his departure from India, Malcolm says: “I left you all so very young that you must have but a faint recollection of me; and what a pleasure it would be to see again those who are so dear to me! I have a flow of spirits that never leave me; and though they have supported me through a long illness,

yet I believe it was to them I owe it, as they led me to pursue my amusements with but too little consideration to my health, which was first impaired by a too frequent exposure to the climate in hunting, shooting, &c. As I grow older I shall grow steadier, and pursue both my amusements and my studies with less warmth, and very probably with more advantage. I have sincerely told you what I am, and though I have many foibles, I trust I have few vices.”

study, more with the hope of their being useful than entertaining, as their knowledge is very confined, and nothing new to be met with amongst them. I lament much the want of a branch of education which never ought to be neglected in the forming an officer—a complete knowledge of mathematics and drawing. I have labored a good deal to improve myself in these sciences, but the want of proper masters has prevented me from attaining any proficiency in them. If I were ever to revisit my native country I should apply myself closely to these studies.” And that he did all that he could do when the time came to fulfil these intentions we may be sure. But great as was his desire to improve himself by entering upon a new academical career, his opportunities were but scanty. The winter was scarcely over when he found himself again in London. All doubts, not only as regarded his return to India, but the situation in which he was to return, had passed away. He was to go out again to Madras, not as an unconnected subaltern, but as a member of the Staff of the Commander-in-Chief. “I go to India this season,” he wrote at the end of March, “and shall have been about eight months in my own country before I embark for the East again. But I have not lost one hour of the eight months. Every day has been more joyful than yesterday. I look forward with apprehension to that period when I shall be less alive (for I never can be dead) for those feelings which have made me so happy since I came to Britain.” At the end of April he was busily occupied with the necessary arrangements for his voyage. “My departure is yet uncertain,” he wrote to Burnfoot on the 28th, “but I am determined the arrangement of my little matter shall not be put off to the last day, and am therefore now despatching my trunks for Portsmouth.”

The time for his departure was, however, very near. Whether he had, before shipping his lighter goods for

Portsmouth, taken leave of his family at Burnfoot, or whether, previous to his embarkation, he was able to pay another visit to Eskdale, does not very clearly appear. The parting must have been a painful one; for at the age to which his parents had now attained there was little hope of his ever seeing them again. The benediction which he then received he well knew would be the last in the flesh. The spirit might often go forth to bless him; but those venerable hands had now performed their office for ever.

In the month of May he embarked at Portsmouth. "I have this moment," he wrote on the 14th of that month, "received orders to go on board, as our ship is getting under weigh. I am appointed Secretary to General Clarke, on a secret expedition. My prospects are very flattering." The vessel in which he sailed formed part of a considerable fleet of Company's ships, conveying a large body of European troops to India under the General's command. Of the early part of the voyage I have no private records. It is to be gathered from public despatches* that the fleet stretched out to the coast of South America, and was detained for some time at St. Salvador.† At the beginning of September they sighted the western coast of the Cape of Good Hope, and at daybreak on the 4th looked out upon the picturesque many-coloured hills sloping down to St. Simon's Bay, in which they were securely anchored.

The colony was then in the very crisis of its fate. Its destiny, trembling in the balance, was decided by the opportune arrival of the troops under General Clarke. Whether the Cape of Good Hope was thenceforth to be a Dutch or an English settlement was the great practical question now to be solved. General Craig and Admiral Keith Elphinstone had been for some time main-

* General Clarke to Mr. Dundas, in the Annual Register for 1794.

† Bahia.

taining an unequal contest with the Dutch burghers; and never were reinforcements more welcome than those which Clarke now brought to their aid. But I may leave the story to be told by Malcolm himself, who was a witness and a participator in the events which transferred the Cape colony to hands by which it has ever since been retained:

“ We anchored,” he wrote in a long narrative and descriptive memorandum, drawn up shortly afterwards, “ in Simon’s Bay, on the night of the 3rd of September. The General, &c., went on shore next day to see Sir George Elphinstone, whose squadron was lying there. We were soon informed that they were at open war with the Dutch, who had refused to accept of the favorable terms which Sir George and General Craig had offered them. The latter, with a little army of about 2000 men, principally seamen, was encamped at a place called Muysenburg (seven miles from Simon’s Town, on the road to the Cape), from which a party had been driven five weeks previous to our arrival, by the fire of some men-of-war sent for the purpose. It had not been judged proper to advance further. Frequent skirmishes had taken place, in which three men on our side had been killed, and three officers and seventeen or eighteen privates wounded. Both fleet and army were in anxious expectation of our appearance, as they had lost all hopes of succeeding without our aid. No time was lost in landing our three regiments and artillery. They were marched immediately to Muysenburg. Their junction made the whole about 5000 men, 3000 of which were soldiers. The remainder were sailors and marines.

“ Our greatest difficulty was the transporting provisions to camp. They were carried in boats within two miles of the camp, and from that on the soldiers’ backs. The sea at times ran very high in the bay to which the boats came, which rendered the task very arduous. But the decided and zealous admiral soon surmounted this difficulty, and principally from his exertions we were enabled to march on the morning of the 14th, with four days’ provisions on our men’s backs. Eight days’ provisions and a quantity of military stores were left under the charge of a strong party at Muysenburg.

“ The army marched in two columns. The principal, with

which were the Commander-in-Chief and Major-General Craig, consisted of 3000 men. With it were ten 6-pounders and two howitzers. Its route was the high road for Cape Town. The other column, consisting of 1600 men and two 6-pounders, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, marched to the left, to scour the country in that direction. The grenadiers and light infantry were detached to the front, and on the right flank of the main column; and the corps of marines covered the left. Before this column had advanced five hundred yards we observed scattered parties of Burgher horse preparing to annoy our right flank. They were mounted on small but active horses, and were armed with long guns. Some of them had attendants on foot who carried a second firelock. They appeared to have no discipline; and any person who had seen irregular cavalry must instantly have concluded them to be a very contemptible enemy. These Burghers were the farmers of the country, who were far the most violent party against any terms being entered into with us. Unaccustomed to fire at anything but roebucks or ostriches till our arrival, they were eager to try their hand at a 'new game,' as they used scoffingly to call our troops. They had met with petty successes against the advanced party of General Craig's little army, whose prudent conduct in not advancing against Cape Town till General Clarke's arrival they readily construed into a fear of their prowess.

"But all their golden dreams were doomed to vanish on this day. Though the ground was particularly favorable for the species of warfare they carried on—high sand-hills covered with brushwood, and intersected with deep *lagunes*, which were only fordable at particular places, which they knew, and of which we were ignorant—they no sooner perceived that our troops were not intimidated by their fire, but advanced as rapidly as the ground would permit, than they fled from one height to another, keeping up an irregular fire, seldom nearer than a quarter of a mile. This skirmishing continued for nearly four miles. The country then opened, and we came to a level plain, about a mile and a half in breadth. On the other side was the hill, or rather eminence of Little Wyndburg. To this, after a little galloping about the plain, the Burgher horse retreated, and joined a party of infantry who were already formed on the summit. Their number appeared altogether nearly 1200—400 of which were cavalry. They had nine field-pieces. The post they occupied was very strong by nature, and the high road lay immediately

through the centre of their line. It was possible, as I afterwards found from observation, to have passed to the right of Wyndburg and out of reach of their cannon. But this circumstance was not known at the time to any one in our camp.

“We halted at the beginning of the plain for the column under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, who, from want of proper guides, had been much detained. They joined about four o'clock, and the whole immediately advanced.

“A detachment of 800 men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie, were ordered to turn the enemy's left flank; and one of 600, under Lieutenant-Colonel M'Murdo, to turn their right; while the remainder advanced in two lines to attack in front. They opened their guns before they could reach us; when we were nearer, some of our field-pieces were advanced, and opened a brisk and well-directed fire, which very soon threw them into confusion; on which the corps composing the front line were ordered to advance. Alarmed at this, and at the appearance of the parties on their flanks, the enemy took flight. Having excellent cattle, they easily drew off their guns. Our advanced corps pursued them till they reached the Great Wyndburg. Here, as it was dark, the General ordered the whole to halt and lie on their arms for the night. We found the casualties of the day had been very trifling—particularly considering the great noise that had been made. One man killed and about twenty wounded (two of whom are since dead) on our part; and a few more on that of the Dutch.

“The fugitives carried the alarm into the town; and at ten o'clock at night a flag came from Governor Sluyskin, &c., requesting a truce for forty-eight hours: one for twenty-four was granted. General Craig met some commissioners from Cape Town half-way from Camp on the morning of the 15th, when the capitulation was agreed upon; and on the 16th the fort, the ordnance stores, &c., were taken possession of for his Britannic Majesty.

“Nothing could have been more fortunate than the termination of this affair. Had the original terms offered by Sir George Elphinstone and General Craig (before the arrival of our fleet) been accepted, our commanders would have been tied down to the invidious task of supporting a system of government deservedly odious to almost all classes. The divided authority of the civil government, under the Prince of Orange, and the military, under his Britannic Majesty, would have proved a continual source of

discord. No blame can be inferred from this on these two commanders, who acted under direct orders from home, and whose primary object was to get possession by any means. The force they had was not equal to the reduction of it; and the arrival of our fleet in time was uncertain. On the other hand, had they obliged us, by continuing an infatuated resistance, to attack the lines, the consequences would have been dreadful. Our success would have been certain; and no power could have restrained an army composed, like ours, of wild sailors, and raw—I might almost say undisciplined—soldiers, from carnage and plunder. Of their tendency that way we had sufficient proofs. General Clarke, by taking every precaution possible, prevented any depredations of consequence.

“We were no sooner in possession of the place than the commanders began to try by every means in their power to quiet the minds of the inhabitants, to conciliate their affection, and to reconcile them to the sudden change of government. This, to judge from outward appearance, they were successful in; for, in a very few days, all seemed restored to its former state. The women, who had mostly fled to the country on hostilities commencing, returned. Even the most violent Burghers, allured by the prospect of gain, began to bring in their cattle. Every man followed his former occupation, and a stranger would not have believed a change had happened.”

From this memorandum of public events, which contains one of the clearest narratives of the circumstances attending the surrender of the Cape which I have ever read, we may turn now to the record of Malcolm's individual impressions. In a passage of a letter to his eldest sister we see not only what he thought of the Cape and its people, but what he thought of his situation on the General's Staff, and how he was employed during the two months which elapsed before his departure :

“I remain behind with the General, and do not expect to leave this before the 15th of November. My situation with General Clarke is everything that I could wish. He is a man of a stamp not often met with—mild and gentlemanlike in his manners, clear and just in his own conduct. He is a declared foe to all dark dealings and to speculation; and in everything that

regards the Government he is scrupulously just beyond any man I ever knew. He never will, I am convinced, himself make an indirect halfpenny; nor allow any person whom he can control to do it. This is a proper man for an Indian to be with, for you know we are all reported to have very different sentiments. He carries on a good-humoured war with my negligent habits, and my desire to please him makes me endeavour to conquer them. I never was a swearer; but I can venture to say I never now, even in an unguarded moment, let slip an oath. He abominates the practice.

"This is a charming place—not very large, but uncommonly neat and clean. The appearance is like the best part of Glasgow. Their meat, vegetables, and fruit, are superior to (those of) any country I ever was in; and their wines, of which they have great variety, are excellent. Had I been rich enough, I would have purchased some Constantia; but it is very dear, so I must therefore defer for a short period sending a pipe to Burnfoot.

"The inhabitants of the town are a cheerful, good-humoured people—rather too phlegmatic; not so mad as I could wish them, but on the whole make an agreeable society for sober-minded people. The *Dyong-Frows* are some of them very pretty—play on the harpsichord, and *danse bien tolerable*. They appeared more lovely when their decent modest manners* were contrasted with the ridiculous extravagance, both in dress and manners, of some young ladies escaped from a London seminary on their flight to India, to lead the fashions there, whose behaviour made me blush for them. I was at great pains to assure all I was acquainted with that they were very different from the young ladies in general in Great Britain. . . .

"I have got an honorable, but troublesome, employment in recruiting men out of the prisoners of war for the service of the Company in India. A set of finer fellows I never knew—all Germans. I have been very successful. I have hitherto acted together with Lieutenant Owen from Bengal; but as he sails tomorrow, the whole business falls on my shoulders. I expect in a month to have upwards of 200 for Madras. Nearly 300 are already embarked for Bombay and Bengal."

* Lady Andrew Barnard, who went to the Cape with Lord Macartney two years afterwards, gave a very unfavorable account of the decency and mo-

desty of the young ladies of the Cape. Whatever their manners may have been, it seems that their morals were execrable.

CHAPTER IV.

THE STAFF AT MADRAS.

[1796—1798.]

APPOINTMENT TO THE STAFF OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF—THE MILITARY SECRETARYSHIP—LETTERS TO BURNFOOT—DEPARTURE OF SIR ALURED CLARKE—APPOINTMENT TO THE STAFF OF GENERAL HARRIS—DEPARTURE OF LORD HOBART—THE TOWN-MAJORSHIP OF FORT ST. GEORGE.

ON his return to India in the cold season of 1795-96, John Malcolm found himself still a lieutenant. But as Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, he was in a better position than many a much older officer. And how happy and contented he was (in all respects but that of separation from his family), the following hastily-written, but characteristic letters to Burnfoot, plainly declare :

JOHN MALCOLM TO HIS MOTHER.

Madras, Feb. 6, 1796.

MY DEAR MOTHER,—Although I am told that the ships will not sail for near a fortnight, I shall seize this leisure moment to write to you. I am well, and situated in every respect as I could wish. I am secretary to General Clarke, who is, without exception, one of the best men I ever knew. The employment is of that nature as to leave me hardly one idle moment—all the better you will say; and all the better *I* say. The sight of all of you at home has filled my breast with emulation to be worthy of such relations. Bob will be rewarded for all his trouble in a princely

manner. He is, to a positive certainty, to be nominated Commercial Resident at Vizagapatam, an appointment worth 4000*l.* a year. His prospects now are great, and it is fortunate for all who have claims upon him, for he has a noble heart. In disposition, he resembles more his father than any of the others, as I have often told you—anxious and warm, but only for the moment.

'Tis a serious disappointment to both our not being destined soon to meet, for I have a thousand things to communicate which I never can by letter, though I (should) give him one once a day. . . .

Ever your affectionate son,

JOHN MALCOLM.

TO HIS SISTER MINA.

Madras, Aug. 6, 1796.

MY DEAR MINNY,— . . . Experience makes wise. I have determined to surmount all that dread that used to attach to the writing of Europe letters, and though I may now and then honor the seniors of the family with a production, you insignificant folks shall have nothing but hasty, uncorrected effusions. These shall be short, but frequent. My present situation leaves me but little time at my own disposal; but we must be attendant and dependent upon the will of others before we can expect attendance and dependence on our own.

Bob is well, and must soon be a man of affluent fortune. Jack is on the road to preferment, but not of a lucrative nature. If he has good luck, he will be able to show hundreds for Bob's thousands, ten years hence. Fortune was pictured blind, but she was clear-sighted when she made your elder brother one of her favorites. He has not a thought of the value of money but as it enables him to indulge the dictates of his noble disposition. I would give the world for a month's leisure to go and see him. . . .

I have hardly wrote a line of poetry since I left you. My time is so completely engaged, and it is, perhaps, one of the most idle amusements in the world. Should (which is very probable) my next situation give me more employment than this, I will commence encore, and sing you all to sleep. . . . Stephy mentions a long letter from you, in which you give a description of a Miss Coates and a Miss Munro. The latter I have seen. Her

brother Tom* is a constant correspondent of mine. He is an uncommon clever fellow.

Ever yours most affectionately,
J. M.

At this time Sir John Shore was Governor-General of India. Lord Hobart was Governor of Madras. And Sir R. Abercromby was Commander-in-Chief of Bengal. In the beginning of 1797, the last-named officer resigned his command, and Sir Alured Clarke stood appointed to succeed him. The vacancy thus created at Madras was filled by the appointment of General Harris, who was then at Calcutta, to the command of the Coast army. Early in the month of March, 1797, Sir Alured Clarke sailed for Bengal; and General Harris, on assuming the duties of his new office, appointed his predecessor's military secretary to the same situation on his own staff.

There were circumstances, with the precise nature of which I am not acquainted, to place it out of the power of Sir Alured Clarke to appoint Malcolm his military secretary at the Chief Presidency.† But, attached as the

* The late Sir Thomas Munro.

† The appointment of Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief of Bengal was, in those days of splendid contracts and munificent jobs, a most lucrative one. The following extract from a letter written to Malcolm by a friend at Lucknow exhibits, in a very amusing manner, the perquisites of office:

"At the same time that I shall be disappointed in not seeing you in Bengal, I am very glad that it will be owing to your having secured a comfortable and advantageous situation at Madras. In your readiness to sacrifice a splendid prospect to secure a moderate advantage, you have shown your good sense; but it is possible you may not be aware of all the advantages which belong to the Secretary of the Commander-in-Chief in Bengal. You would receive from 800

to 1000 rupees per month for pay, batta, and house-rent, as Secretary; and you would have the management of the military dawk without the provinces, which is worth 2500 to 3000 per month. The allowance for laying the dawk is 2700 rupees, and the expense does not exceed 400, which is more than defrayed by the postage of letters. Taking your advantages at 3500 rupees, and supposing General Clarke will remain three years in Bengal, I cannot help thinking it would be much to your advantage to come round with him. You would be able to save a lakh of rupees; nor, after having fulfilled the respectable situation of Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, would you find any difficulty in obtaining an appointment at Madras of equal value with your present one whenever you chose to return to that establish-

latter was to his old master,* he found his new position as secretary to General Harris an agreeable one; and his letters, whilst a member of that excellent man's family, are full of cheerfulness and buoyancy of spirit. "You, with all the rest," he wrote to one of his sisters on the 15th of March, 1797, "will be rejoiced at my good fortune; the particulars of which I have wrote to my father. Pulteny is ordered to Bengal, which, though it disappoints my expectation of seeing him soon, I am happy at, as it affords him an opportunity of refreshing his crew, who are mostly ill of the scurvy; and he has already seen his elder brother. The family I am now in is an uncommon pleasant one. The General appears everything that is honest and worthy—Madame, an amiable, good woman; and Mademoiselle, sensible, pleasing, and unaffected. This is a sketch on a very short acquaintance. I promise that you shall become acquainted with them as fast as I do. . . . General Clarke left us on the 6th instant. I never felt more than in parting with him. His attention to me was excessive; and I

ment."—[*Mr. George Johnstone, Lucknow, to Lieut. John Malcolm; October 26, 1796.*]

From the date of this letter, it would appear that Malcolm had secured the succession to the military secretaryship at Madras as far back as the autumn of 1796. But Mr. Lushington, in his *Life of Lord Harris*, says that "in the month of January, 1797, he (Harris) received at Calcutta the unexpected intelligence of his appointment to command the army of Madras." This seeming discrepancy must be accounted for on the hypothesis, either that the allusion in Mr. Johnstone's letter is to the Town-Majorship of Madras, the reversion of which may have been secured to him by Lord Hobart; or that the gift of the Military Secretaryship was in the hands of the Governor, and had been promised by him to John

Malcolm. Mr. Lushington, indeed, tells us that Lord Harris, "after a short experience of his position in the Council of Madras, felt that the military patronage was so entirely in the hands of the Civil Government, as to be detrimental to the public service." This would appear to be the true solution of the difficulty.

* The attachment was reciprocal. Sir Alured, soon after his departure, wrote to Malcolm, saying, "Lord Hobart, I hope, will continue his friendly attention to you. Mine you may always rely upon. For, to be sincere, long acquaintance has satisfied me that the rectitude of your head and heart entitle you to expect and receive from me all those good offices which the partiality of your other friends wished me to show you when we first met."

have every reason to believe that he was as sorry to leave me as I was to stay. He condescended to tell me the circumstances which placed it out of his power to make my situation in Bengal equal to what it was in Madras; and in a point where my interest was the chief thing consulted, attending him was out of the question. I sincerely hope that he will return, as I have good reason to think it will be seriously for my advantage; and I am sure he is a man who, from his just and dispassionate character, is peculiarly fitted to shine in a high civil station. . . . I keep my health uncommonly well—rather inclined to get too stout. However, the constant exercise I use will prevent that, in some degree. . . . I am not fond of going out visiting at night. The truth is, I get sleepy. I fear that this is a symptom of age. To-night I am on duty, having the honor of attending Mrs. and Miss Harris to return about a dozen visits. I wish it were over. . . . You know I can be the most serious man on earth when I assume that character. I have not found that necessary for more than five hours of my life, and I hope that I may laugh through the remainder as happily. Laughing or crying, I always am your affectionate brother."

It may be gathered from his letters that John Malcolm was never more in a "laughing" mood than at this period of his life. He had good health, good spirits, and good prospects. He was still "Boy Malcolm;" and he wrote both to his friends in India and to dear old Burnfoot in a strain which must have imparted something of its own cheerfulness to the recipients of his laughing epistles. A young officer on the staff of a governor or commander-in-chief leads a careless, though not an idle life. He is in the midst of public affairs, but he is scarcely *of* them. He sees history, but does not act it. He has all the excitement, but none of the responsibilities of greatness.

He shares the pomp, but not the troubles of office. John Malcolm at this time saw little of diplomacy, except its ceremonials; and at these he could afford to laugh. The following letters—the first of which relates to a grand public interview between the Governor of Madras and the Nabob of the Carnatic*—are significant of the elasticity and sunny-heartedness of the writer at this time:

JOHN MALCOLM TO COLONEL CLIFFE.

Madras, April 7, 1797.

MY DEAR CLIFFE,—It is some time since I wrote to you, and had matters gone on without any extraordinaries, I should have been silent longer—but we have had this morning a grand ceremony. To do it justice by description exceeds my ability; but I will attempt to give you an idea of it.

At nine o'clock, all Company's servants assembled in the Governor's house in the Fort, and at ten the procession set out for the Nabob's. Josiah Webbe, Esq., the Grand Secretary, went first in a palanquin. He bore on his knees a silver salver, curiously carved, on which lay a gold-embroidered purse that contained the important letter from the Company to the Nabob. It was followed by a party of troopers, who preceded the Right Honorable Lord Baron Hobart, who rode in a state-coach, attended by aides-de-camp Beresford and Burroughs; after which, in a chariot, came Lieutenant-General Harris, accompanied by Major Gardiner; next Colonel John Richardson, in a bandy, with an ornamented hood; and after him Captains Young and Malcolm, in a neat Calcutta buggy. Mr. Councillor Saunders and Postmaster-General Rowley followed in a post-chaise. Colonel Close, Adjutant-General of the Army, in a palanquin, covered the left flank of the select line; Mr. Private-Secretary Adderley the right; whilst their rear was protected by the body-guard, under Lieutenant Montgomery, whose gallant appearance and active

* Oomdut-ool-Omrah. His predecessor, Mahomet Ali, died in 1795. But communication in Europe was tardy in those days; and it was not until the spring of 1797 that the customary congratulations of the Home Government on the accession of the new Prince reached Madras.

exertions on this occasion it would be unpardonable to pass in silence.

Various ambitious characters attempted to gain the head of his guard and crowd on the first line—but in vain. He wheeled and charged in every direction to oppose their progress, whilst his bright sword divided the air, and lightning flashed from his eyes. His words, like his actions, denoted the fury of his soul. His enemies fled before him. Two only dared to tempt his rage. The first was the great Westcott, who sate in a sea-colored car, drawn by two fiery duns. He called to his charioteer to lash his impatient coursers. His high mind revolted at remaining so long behind. His faithful charioteer obeyed, and the pride of both mounted for a moment, like the dust they raised, as they flew along. "Stop—nor attempt to move beyond thy present station," pronounced with a voice of authority by one whose half-lifted sabre showed the charter on which he acted, met their astonished ears. The affrighted charioteer pulled his reins; and though the pale, quivering lip of his master showed the anguish of his soul, he fell back silent and confounded.

Not dismayed by his friend's defeat was the portly Ben (Roebuck*), whilst he reclined at length in a painted litter. He ordered his attendants, who at once carried and guarded him, to poise their sharp-pointed pikes (which were adorned with beautiful tassels), and advanced to the foremost ranks. They shouted, and rushed to the war. Their glittering arms and their numbers would have appalled the boldest heart; but they affected not our hero's. He singly charged the phalanx. They were dismayed. Their coward hearts sunk, and the weapons which they had wielded in their pride fell from their nerveless grasp. In vain did their lord encourage and reproach—in vain did he give bitter taunts to the foe. They bore him from the field of danger to a place of safety, grumbling like the shaggy tenant of Siberia's wild when his head is wounded by the arrow of the hunter. The defeat of these heroes deterred all others from a similar fate; and a motley throng, numerous as the stars, followed contented the troop of warriors.

* Mr. Roebuck was an alderman of the Mayor's Court, and father of the present member for Sheffield.

I have mounted and rode very hard, and am only arrived at the Nabob's outer gate. Perhaps I may take another spurt at the close; but at present, with your leave, Colonel, I will walk, which, indeed, most parties did, to the palace. We passed through a street of troops, who presented their arms to this wonderful letter as it was carried near them. When at the inner gate, the Nabob advanced to meet the Governor, who briefly explained the purport of his visit. We followed the great men into the *dewdn-khana*, or hall of audience, in the centre of which was a small carpet with silken cushions, covered by a golden canopy, supported by painted pillars, and hung round with blue lustres. Under this his Highness led the Lord; and, whilst Generals, Counsellors, and other distinguished personages pressed near, Mr. Secretary Webbe read the honored letter in a clear and audible tone.

You, no doubt, recollect the *Vicar of Wakefield*. If you do, you are acquainted with most of this letter. The company begin, like Miss Wilhelmina Carolina Skeggs, expressing their sorrow at his Highness's father's death, and then they express their joy on his ascending the *Musnud*; and then they express their approval of the advice given, and the offers made of a modification of the treaty of '92 by Lord Hobart; and then they express their disappointment at the Nabob's refusing them. They have, they say, given the Lord orders to open another negotiation, and they beg the Nabob will listen to him. If he does, he will make them a happy Company, and essentially benefit himself. If he does not, it will be an unfavorable commencement of his reign, and may affect materially their future conduct towards him. In all these sentiments they declare that they are joined by his Majesty's Ministers—"given under our great seal at Leaden-hall-street."

All was now over, and each sought his home. I had forgot to mention that there were two or three salutes and some volleys of musketry on the occasion. . . .

A man who sits down to write a letter about nothing must waste ink, pens, and paper; and try the patience of his friends. 'Tis a true remark, and happily exemplified by

Yours sincerely,

J. MALCOLM.

JOHN MALCOLM TO HIS SISTER AGNES.*

Madras, Oct. 16, 1797.

MY DEAR NANCY,—I am tired of writing politics and nonsense—of forming ingenious premises, and drawing therefrom most wise conclusions. Such being my state, what is the remedy? Can there be a better than scrawling a Europe letter to a nice, light-hearted sister, whose eyes are keen enough to unravel my hieroglyphics, and whose heart is good enough to excuse my errors?—"None better." I will swallow the draught this moment, though it is near ten o'clock; and I am mistaken if I have not a good night's rest after it.

It is, my dear Nancy, one of those still clear nights, which your friend Mrs. Radcliffe would dwell on for many pages. I wish that admirable young woman were here. I would lead her a walk which would equal one of her journeys in the *Mysteries of Udolpho*.

Do you remember, when we were all young, sitting round the parlour fire at Burnfoot? You were reading the most dreadful of the castle-scenes. All was hushed attention. My father leant with his head gently resting on the cornice of the chimney-piece, while it also received additional support from the two forefingers of his right hand. Yes—I can never forget his position. At this moment, a light tread, like that of a human foot, was heard in the winding dark passage which leads from the kitchen to the parlour. It drew little attention. The sweet, mellow tone of your voice, the awfulness of the subject, were too attractive;—but it far exceeds the humble power of my pen to tell how we were roused from this delightful state.

A rumbling noise was heard at the door: all looked round in amaze. The pages you had perused were imprinted on our memory—the supernatural scenes they represented were present to our imagination. The parlour door burst open—ten thousand small black devils flew into the room: they were impelled in every direction by a fury in the shape of a woman. All was confusion: some shrieked; others tried to gain the windows. My father, after oversetting two chairs in attempting to retreat, ventured to look round. He saw what we then all began to discover

* Agnes Malcolm died at Irvine, April, 1836, aged 73.

—that our alarm was caused by the pretty Peggy M'Neill, whose foot had slipped at the parlour-door, which she wished to open to bring in a basket of coals to rekindle our almost extinct fire.

"This is the consequence, girls," said my father, pretty quickly—"this is the consequence of your novels and romances. The mind is destroyed: fancy takes complete possession; and you see what a piece of work she makes. Why, I was almost alarmed myself. It required all the firmness I possess to prevent mistaking Peggy M'Neill, that honest lass there, for Hecate, and the coals for her attendant devils.

"This is all you, Nancy," he continued; "you persuade your uncle to send you down all the trash from London, and then prevail on us to listen. Lay it aside—lay it aside; and get John to read us a few pages of 'Reid on the Intellectual Powers.' He has lately perused it, and will tell you what a noble work it is for confirming the judgment, and making the mind firm in her principles."

"Indeed" (you said), "father, but I'll do no such thing as leave off this nice book for any nonsense about Philosophy. As for John and his firm principles, his mind is wonderfully prepared by these fine books, to be sure. He showed more of his bodily than his intellectual powers when he almost killed me by jumping from the chair to the window, frightened at a basket of coals." After this sally, Nancy, you began again. The fire grew more bright. My father went away; but returned in a few minutes, and sat as attentive as the rest to hear the sequel of the *Mysteries of Udolpho*.

"But never mind the night and Mrs. Radcliffe, John. What are you about? Do you keep your health? Have you any fine Behauser* horses, as you used to call them? What do you do in the morning—and what in the evening? Have you any fine ladies at Madras? Do you ever write any odes?"—Patience, and I will answer these questions in regular order.

As to my health, it is as good as you could wish it. I have two fine prancing horses—fellows that beat the air and paw the ground. They are both grey. One of them was born at the source of the Indus, and the other within a few miles of Ispahan,

* Literally, a great lord; means here, *proud, prancing*.

in Persia. I could not wish a wife with a sweeter disposition than they both possess—nor one with more fire and spirit.

I pass my mornings in a way which I trust will make my evenings, some time hence, more comfortable.

My evenings at present do not pass unpleasantly—far from it. I have a most agreeable home; and if disposed to visit, which I seldom am, I meet a welcome in families both genteel and lively.

As to ladies—I don't know that we have any positively fine. But we have several good mothers, and some promising daughters; and what more would you wish?

When I have an idle hour and wish to keep my eyes open, I take up my Hafiz, fire my imagination, and if the fit lasts, I translate an ode. But I seldom get through it. If a stanza displeases me, or a rhyme won't come, I curse the idle amusement, tear all I have written, throw the pen out of the door, and begin reading Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.

I, however, succeeded better yesterday. I finished an ode, which I now enclose. It appears of the wicked order; but this is appearance only—and so you may tell any old Presbyterian witch that finds fault with it. Its wickedness arises out of her ignorance. Hafiz was a holy writer. His compositions resemble the Song of Solomon. Where he mentions the Tavern, he means Paradise. The Cup-bearer is the angel Gabriel. His Mistress is the Almighty; and Wine is Divine Love, &c., &c., &c. This I have been assured of by the wisest men of the East.

When he died in his native town, Shiraz, all the inhabitants were not convinced of this. Several ignorant, plain men took the meaning as it was written; and declared its tendency was to promote luxury and dissipation, and that the author did not deserve to be interred in sacred ground. Others, confident of its latent purity, contended that he almost deserved divine honors for the services he had done to religion by his holy, though mystical, works. The parties were violent. One endeavoured to convey the corpse to the burial-ground—the other opposed; and bloodshed ensued. At last it was determined, by mutual consent, that his own book should finish the dispute. It was to be opened at random. The finger of a man blinded was to point to the couplet. If it was, on reading, found to be of a nature to encourage vice, the friends of the poet agreed to relinquish their object. If on the contrary,

his remains were to be quietly interred. The appeal is common in the East, and particularly made to the holy Koran by Princes before they undertake any affair of importance.

In the present instance, the scene was highly interesting. The fury of mistaken zealots was likely to debar from its last mournful rites the body of one whose name had given celebrity to their country. All was anxiety. The most learned of the Moulavees held the book, and was appointed to read the couplet which fate decreed to decide the important dispute. The Heaven-directed finger was placed on the two concluding lines of one of his most serious but most beautiful odes:

Withdraw not your steps from the obsequies of Hafiz;
Though he be immersed in sin he will rise into Paradise.

The shout of joy was general. Every one was convinced; and all Shiraz attended his funeral. A superb tomb was built over him; and it is to this day visited by the learned and the pious from all quarters of the globe.

I will write you a grave letter in January.

Your affectionate brother,

J. M.

But although at this time Malcolm led a careless and a happy life, it was not an idle one. He had, indeed, an irrepressible desire not only to accumulate information for himself, but also to impart it to others. Ever since he had first made the acquaintance of Sir John Kennaway,* he had longed to take an active part in the

* He continued to correspond with this gentleman, who had finally returned to England. The following extracts from his correspondence belong to this period, and are not without interest:—"I am in the same situation," wrote Malcolm, "as when I wrote you last—Persian interpreter and secretary to General Harris, who is kind and attentive to a degree. With General Clarke I keep up a constant correspondence, and have a pride in thinking I stand high in his esteem. I anxiously look for his succession to

this Government, to which he has so long been posted. He makes no promises, and no one knows what he means to do till he has an opportunity of doing it. This I am convinced of, that he has an anxious wish to promote my interests, and will lose no opportunity of doing it."—[August 31, 1797.]

And again:—"All my hopes still point to being some day employed in the diplomatic line, which makes me extremely solicitous that my friends at home should lose no opportunity of

great game of diplomacy. He saw, indeed, that there were events then taking shape in the womb of Time, which would render it essential to the interests of the nation that the British-Indian Government should have at its disposal men thoroughly acquainted with the history and constitution of the Native States of India. And seeing this, he set himself resolutely to work, to acquire the desiderated information, by corresponding and conversing with the best-informed men in the country; and to supply the intelligence thus acquired, in the shape of Minutes and Memoirs, to the Government under which he served. The papers upon these important subjects, which he sent in to Lord Hobart, were graciously received. The Governor encouraged him to proceed in the good work of collecting and digesting intelligence; and Malcolm applied himself diligently to it, in the entire confidence that it would, at no very remote date, be found of eminent use in the advancement, not merely of his own interests, but of the welfare also of the State.

At this time Lord Hobart was about to retire from the Government of Madras; and it was believed that Sir Alured Clarke would succeed him. But Sir John Shore was also about to lay down the reins of office; so Sir Alured, as Senior Member of Council in Bengal, stood next for the Governor-Generalship, and in March, 1798, he entered upon its duties. Meanwhile, in the preceding month, Lord Hobart had taken his departure, and been

getting me mentioned to great men coming out either to Bengal or Madras. I can promise much arranged information; and the flattering notice of several papers I have given in has encouraged me to persevere in the pursuit. . . . My health is as confirmed as you could wish it. I live moderately, and take a great deal of

exercise. I have left off, with other idle habits, my poetical flights. I do, however, attempt an ode now and then, as you will see by the enclosed, which I translated two days ago to send to my sister. They insist on having nonsense of the kind sent to Burnfoot once or twice a year."—[October 16, 1797.]

succeeded, for the time, by General Harris, who was now at the head both of the civil and military affairs of the Coast. The change was beneficial to Malcolm, who was nominated Town-Major of Fort St. George—an office then of far greater honor and emolument than it is at the present time. But it had not the virtue of permanency. The appointment, indeed, was considered as a personal appendage to the Governor of the day, like any other part of the constitution of his “family.” As Malcolm only stepped in during an interregnum, his incumbency was therefore more than usually uncertain and precarious.* He held the appointment until the autumn of the same year. Lord Clive, who had been appointed Governor of Madras, arrived at the end of August; and new arrangements were made for the Town-Majorship of the Fort.

To Malcolm this was a matter of but little moment. He had recommended himself ere this to the notice of one higher in office than the Governor of Madras. Lord Clive became in due course one of Malcolm’s fastest friends—but no man esteemed his worth or appreciated his services more than did Lord Wellesley.

* Letter of John Malcolm to Lord Hobart — [March 25, 1798] — “Sir John Shore left Calcutta on the 8th inst. I fear Sir Alured’s reign will be short, as I observe by intelligence which arrived this morning that Lord Mornington sailed on the 8th of November. As I do not find any person is named for Madras, I cherish hopes of being Town-Major a few months longer.”

To General Ross, who had been Lord Cornwallis’s secretary, he also wrote, soon afterwards — [May 15, 1798] — “I cannot lose a moment in thanking you for your attentive kind-

ness in mentioning me to Lord Mornington. Had that nobleman been destined for Madras, your friendly recommendation would probably have caused my remaining in the lucrative situation of Town-Major, which I can hardly expect to be so fortunate as to keep under General Harris’s successor; though, if my friends know I fill it before any Governor leaves England, they will naturally on such an occasion exert their interests, as I have made them aware of its consequence. If I remain one year, I shall have a little foundation on which I may erect a goodly castle.”

CHAPTER V.

HYDERABAD AND MYSORE.

- [1798—1799.]

ARRIVAL OF LORD WELLESLEY—THE HYDERABAD ASSISTANTSHIP—DISBANDMENT OF THE FRENCH CORPS—MALCOLM'S SHARE IN THE OPERATIONS—VOYAGE TO CALCUTTA—MEETING WITH LORD WELLESLEY—THE SIEGE OF SERINGAPATAM—THE MYSORE COMMISSIONERSHIP—RETURN TO HYDERABAD.

ON the 26th of April, 1798, Lord Wellesley* landed at Madras, on his way to the seat of the Supreme Government of India, over which he had been appointed to preside. He remained on the Coast until the second week of May; and then resumed his voyage to Calcutta.

During the brief sojourn of the new Governor-General at Madras, Captain Malcolm† ventured to forward to him, through his private secretary,‡ some of the papers which he had drawn up on the Native States of India, and to express at the same time a hope that, when opportunity offered, he might be employed in the diplomatic line of his profession. In those days nearly all the “political” appointments in the country were held by military officers. The civil servants of the Company, though then beginning to shake off their old mercantile character, were

* It need hardly be said that he was then Lord Mornington; but for the sake of uniformity, I shall use throughout the name by which he is known in history.

† He was promoted in this year (1798).

‡ Mr. Henry Wellesley, afterwards Lord Cowley.

seldom despatched to the Courts of the Native Princes. In such men as Kennaway, Scott, Collins, the two Kirkpatricks, and other soldiers, the Indian Governments found agents of rare energy and ability to conduct our relations with what in the language of the day was called the "Country Powers." It was not until some time after the dawn of the new century that the diplomatic skill of such men as Jenkins, Elphinstone, Metcalfe, and Russell was called forth; and the civilians of the day successfully competed with the soldiers for the chief places at the "Residencies" planted in the different Native States.

It was to the Court of Hyderabad that Malcolm now turned his desiring eyes. He had, years before, acquired some experience of the affairs of the Nizam. He had seen much for himself; his early intimacy with Sir John Kennaway, and his subsequent correspondence with the Kirkpatricks, had enlarged his knowledge of the Deccan, and strengthened the interest with which he regarded all that related to its government and its people. That interest, however, was not of a very pleasurable kind. In truth, he despised the one and pitied the other. But the field of employment was a good one. A crisis of some sort or other was evidently approaching. And John Malcolm, whose nature it was ever to wish to be what is called "in the thick of it," thought that there could be no better opportunity of gratifying his eager desire after a stirring life than that afforded by a diplomatic appointment at the Court of Hyderabad. A vacancy had opportunely presented itself. Colonel Kirkpatrick, who had succeeded Sir John Kennaway, had joined the staff of the Governor-General, whom he had met at the Cape; and Captain Kirkpatrick, who had held a subordinate situation at the Nizam's Court, was now appointed Resident in his brother's stead. For the office of Asst.

[TO LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK.]—All my baggage was embarked, and I meant to have followed in a few hours, when I received a message from Sir G. Barlow, the purport of which was that he wished I would defer my departure. This I of course received as a command. I refer Sir George Barlow's conduct on this point to the state of circumstances in Hindostan, which, though it may not threaten an immediate renewal of hostilities, is far from being perfectly settled, and everything is kept in commotion by the vicinity of Jeswunt Row Holkar, who takes full advantage of the unfortunate opportunity which has been afforded him, not only to remain in the vicinity of our provinces, but to vex them with continual intrigues. The consequence of this state is the daily occurrence of political questions, upon which Sir George finds I am able, from local knowledge, to throw considerable light; and to this I attribute his desire that I should stay. I have plainly told him I am convinced that nothing but the most decided conduct will avert the evils by which we are threatened, and he appears inclined to adopt such a system; but he is, no doubt, much perplexed with a reflection on his own situation, which is a very precarious one, and with the difficulty of reconciling any appearance of vigor and resolution with the mild and inoffensive principles of that doctrine of which he has so recently declared himself the complete convert.

I have, at his particular desire, given him several memorandums since my arrival at Calcutta, and he has ventured, upon the strong practical grounds I have stated, to depart, in some instances, from his declared former intentions, and I indulge a hope he will early perceive the necessity of still greater deviations from a system which I dare pronounce, from the short experience I have had of its operation, to be of a nature that makes peace insecure, and war impracticable.

My present intention is to give this paper to the Asiatic Society. If I do not, I shall send a copy in manuscript to your Lordship." This paper was published among the *Asiatic Researches*; but subsequently (1812) reproduced in a separate form. All the later information which we have gained regarding these people, now our own subjects, has only tended to show the accuracy of this early sketch. There are some anecdotes in the vo-

lume illustrative of Malcolm's intercourse with the Sikhs, when in the Punjab in 1806, which I was half-tempted to quote in the preceding chapter. But I omitted them under the impression, that having been in print for so many years, they may be familiar to a large number of my readers. The same consideration has restrained me generally from quoting Malcolm's printed works.

[TO LORD WELLESLEY.] — This desire for my remaining longer at Calcutta surprised me more, as I had good grounds for concluding that Sir George wished me at Mysore; but the cause of this change of sentiment was explained when I saw Mr. Seton's reports from Hindostan, in which he states serious apprehensions of Holkar's having hostile intentions, and of his being busy in forming connexions with our discontented dependents. Though Sir George does not give entire credit to Mr. Seton's reports, they have made sufficient impression to render him desirous of the presence of a person who can, from personal and local knowledge, aid him to appreciate the attention they merit. I have, of course, acquiesced cheerfully in this detention, though I do not think it probable any opinions of mine will ever be adopted in a manner that will be beneficial to the public interests; every statement is favorably received, and its truth and justice acknowledged, but it is first modelled with a view of reconciling its adoption to prior proceedings, and next with that of suiting it to the palate of the Directors; and after undergoing this alterative course, it cannot be supposed to retain much of its original character.

I have, in the conferences I have had with Sir George Barlow, stated my opinions with the most perfect freedom, and he has been very flattering in his attention. He refers his conduct on some of the points of his administration that are least defensible to the exigency produced by the state of the finances, and to the necessity of attending to the orders of the Court of Directors; but the first of these causes could only have a mere temporary operation, and though it might render some measures expedient, it never can be assumed as a basis on which a permanent system is to rest; and as to the orders of the Directors, a Governor-General who does not exercise his discretion on that point is false to the first and greatest of those powers which the legislative wisdom of his country has reposed in him; but there is no occasion for speculation on this subject, as I am satisfied, from present appearances, that events will early force even this Government to abandon a system of policy which, in spite of the great authorities by which it is supported, I will pledge myself to prove to demonstration makes peace insecure, and war impracticable.

I do not think an immediate renewal of hostilities with Holkar probable, unless he is permitted (which I still fear he will be) to enter Hindostan, and proceed to plunder the countries between

the Jumna and Sutlej ; in such case the occurrence or non-occurrence of war will neither depend upon Holkar nor us, but upon the will and pleasure of a host of plunderers (chiefly inhabitants of our own provinces), who will flock to this licensed freebooter, who will become, more than he has ever yet been, dependent on their caprice. The first result of this *liberal* policy will be to change a narrow and strong frontier, which we at present possess, for an extended and weak line. Instead of having only to depend from Rewaree to Agra against the encroachments of the Mahrattas, we shall have from the hills near Karnal and Saharunpoor to Agra. The moment Holkar passes Delhi, we must form (on grounds of necessity which Sir George himself admits) an army at the head of the Doab, and thus, during peace, incur an increased expenditure in military preparations, without adding one iota to our security.

Nor was it only in Northern India that Malcolm, at this time, saw elements of danger which called for the wisest and most vigorous administration of Indian affairs. That disastrous incident known in history as the massacre of Vellore, had then recently occurred. From one end of India to another it was a foremost topic of discourse. It is well known what was said and thought about an event which was really less significant than it seemed. To Malcolm it appeared that the evil was one which could only be successfully encountered by a statesman vested at the same time with the supreme civil and military authority ; and he was eager that Sir Arthur Wellesley should go out to Madras as Governor and Commander-in-Chief :

“ I have no secrets with you,” he wrote to Sir John Anstruther,* “ and I cannot suppress the fears which these melancholy events have excited. If the administration in England were guided by no views but an abstract consideration of the national interests,

* Sir John Anstruther had been Chief Justice of Bengal. He was at this time in England.

they would on this great emergency select a man qualified from reputation, knowledge, and experience, to remedy this great evil, and they would vest him with every power that was necessary to the accomplishment of the object. He should be an officer, because it appears on this occasion indispensable to depart from the usual system, and to combine two authorities, which the crisis requires to be combined, to save the public service from that danger to which it may be exposed from divided authority and distracted councils. As far as I can judge (and I offer my opinion without any consideration but the public good), Sir A. Wellesley is the only man who combines the requisite qualifications with that local experience and local reputation which is absolutely requisite to secure success to his exertions. I should, if he was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief at Fort St. George, have perfect confidence that this desperate evil would be corrected, and that the imminent danger with which the State has been threatened would be completely removed."

At the same time he wrote to Sir Arthur Wellesley himself, saying :

"Periods, my dear Wellesley, sometimes occur in which an individual has the power, from fortuitous events, of serving his country far beyond the extent of common calculation ; this appears to me one of them. The evil which has occurred upon the coast can only be removed by the application of all the attention, all the vigilance, and all the efforts of an able and united local Government for a series of years. The spirit of disaffection which has appeared being dormant for a period must not be received as a proof of its being extinct. It is, perhaps, in the most dangerous progress when the lull is greatest. Radical changes are, I fear, required in the system, and these can only be made by a person who unites the advantages of distinguished talents with local experience and local reputation. The Governor-General may plan with wisdom, but unless his views are to be seconded, and the work done by a competent local authority, his views will be frustrated, and his hopes defeated. You will conclude to what this leads, and anticipate my opinion that you should, upon this unexpected and

alarming emergency, offer your services and proceed to India, on their agreeing to combine in your person the powers of the civil and military government. With less power you might be useful, but your success would not be certain; and if attention to system supersedes on this occasion a consideration of the public interests, I would not advise you to hazard your great character by the acceptance of a military power, which may be limited and counteracted in every exertion by the interference of an opposite and controlling authority: You know me incapable of flattery; my opinion may, on this occasion, be erroneous, but it is fixed beyond the power of being altered, that upon your appointment to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Madras the actual preservation of that part of our British Empire may, in a great degree, depend. I deplore as much as any man can deplore the existence of a state of affairs so melancholy as one in which any individual can become of such consequence, but it does exist; and unless a man is appointed whom the Native troops regard with respect and affection, whom their European officers know and esteem, and who unites in his person that general opinion which gives success from anticipating it, I shall tremble for the consequences, whereas, under the arrangement I have suggested, my mind would be at rest upon the result.

"I have been very anxious to proceed to Mysore, but must remain here a month longer, which will give me an opportunity of seeing the new Governor-General, with whom I shall communicate or not, as he shows the disposition. I shall certainly intrude neither my information nor my opinions upon his notice. My whole time has been occupied for these last two months with a large paper on the political administration of India for these last twenty years, which I think may be useful, as it takes a comprehensive view of a subject which never can be understood from a partial view. I have access to documents that few others have; and from having gone over almost all the ground (actually, and not on paper), I have, perhaps, as just an idea of the practicability of the different systems as any individual in India."*

* To Lord Wellesley he wrote in the same strain, urging the despatch of his brother to India. "Your Lordship knows," he said, "that I am no

alarmist. This is the first time I have ever trembled for British India. It is one of those dangers of which it is impossible to calculate either the ex-

In what manner Sir Arthur Wellesley viewed the question of his return to India, suggested by Malcolm—and indeed by others—may be gathered from the following letters written in the spring and autumn of this year. Sir Arthur Wellesley would have returned to India if he had been invited; but his friends thought that he could render more essential service to his country nearer home :

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY TO COLONEL MALCOLM.

London, February 23, 1807.

MY DEAR MALCOLM,—I had intended to write to you by Lord Minto, but he left town very suddenly while I was hunting at Hatfield, and he had sailed before I heard of his departure from London. But I hear that the Indiamen are to sail immediately, and I will not suffer them to go without a letter. I will not pretend to give you an account of the state of public affairs, of which you will be enabled to form a better judgment by a perusal of the newspapers than by anything I could write to you. The Ministry are certainly very strong in Parliament, and I think are getting on a little in the country. But they will never be so popular as Pitt was; and I think that there are symptoms in this country and in Ireland which require the serious attention of every man who wishes for the continuance of the empire and the prosperity of Great Britain. They are coming to their senses greatly about India, and I know that Tierney has some good principles in relation to that country, and that he would govern it well if he had the power. A revolution is also in progress, slowly but very certainly, in the public mind respecting the former system of government there and that according to which affairs ought to be administered there in future. The Court of Directors are certainly less hostile than they were towards Lord Wellesley; and as for me, I have the most certain proofs that they are desirous that I should serve them again. All this looks

tent, the progress, or the consequences. Its nature is, I confess, calculated to give an exaggerated impression of its magnitude. But the operation of this

impression, already shown in several false alarms, forms in itself no slight part of this danger."

well, and I am sanguine in my expectations that all difficulties upon these subjects will soon have been overcome.

You will have been astonished at the career of James Paull the tailor, your quondam friend and *protégé*.* He certainly was nearly being the representative of Westminster, owing, partly, to the unpopularity of Sheridan, partly to his own impudence, and partly to the power which Horne Tooke and Cobbett have acquired over the public mind. I was the first person who discovered that the characteristic of Paull was perseverance, effrontery, and impudence; and when you conceive such a character, you will not be astonished at all that he has done—notwithstanding the kicks, cuffs, and buffeting which we gave him last year in Parliament—and all that he still threatens. He is not now in Parliament, and Lord Folkestone,† who was one of his supporters last year, has announced his intention of moving a resolution on the transactions in Oude. He brings no charge, however, and he does not mean to criminate Lord Wellesley, and he has particularly stated that he does not think there is the smallest ground for attributing to Lord Wellesley the waste of the public money. We shall beat him, whatever may be the nature of his resolution. Another gentleman, Sir Thomas Turton,‡ has given notice of a day for moving again for the printing of the Carnatic papers, with a view to the consideration of the transactions in the revolution in that country. We shall beat him likewise. You will readily believe that Lord Wellesley is much annoyed by all this; but his mind is more composed, and he is more reconciled to his situation than he was last year.

Alas! my dear Malcolm, what is come over the army of Fort St. George? What are we to believe? Is it possible that the princes at Vellore can have corrupted the detachment at Hyderabad at the distance of five hundred miles? Surely these princes, in confinement, and possessing but limited pecuniary means, could never have had the power of creating a general interest in their favor throughout the whole of the Native army of Fort St. George, dispersed as it is over thousands of miles! I am all anxiety upon this subject, and yet I have not received a line from

* Mr. Paull, who had formerly resided at Lucknow, had brought charges against Lord Wellesley in Parliament.

† The late Lord Radnor.

‡ Father of the late Sir Thomas Turton, Registrar of the Supreme Court of Calcutta.

a soul. Nobody believes the accounts which have been received from India upon this subject, notwithstanding the character and credit of those who have transmitted them, and the mind of every man is filled with suspicion and alarm. Surely the brave fellows who went through the difficulties and dangers of the Mahratta campaign cannot have broken their allegiance! I can never believe it till I shall see it proved in the clearest manner.

I wish that you were now in England, but I doubt whether it will be of any use to you to come hereafter. Government have some thoughts of sending an embassy to Persia; Baghdad Jones as the ambassador. I put a spoke in his wheel the other day, I think, in conversation with Tierney, and urged him to get Lord Howick* to appoint you. God knows whether I have succeeded in the last object, although I made it clear that Jones was an improper man, and that you were the only one fit for the station. I do not recommend it to you to be in a hurry to come to England. Expenses here are very heavy, and fortunes very large. Notwithstanding all the taxes, and the rise in price of every article in life, there is more luxury than ever, more appearance of riches in the country, and more persons with large fortunes, and fewer with fortunes of a moderate extent, than there were formerly. You could not exist in the way you would like under a much larger fortune than you possess; and, take my word for it, you will lose nothing by staying away from England a little longer. Pray don't forget to remember me to all my friends, particularly to Wilks,† Close,‡ Barclay, Symonds,§ Piele, Cole|| (if he should be with you), Buchan,¶ &c., &c. Tell Buchan that I have endeavoured to serve him in his difficulties. The Court of Directors are outrageous against him, for no reason whatever. I am not sure that I have not prevailed with T. to prevent them from venting their rage in paragraphs in a general letter. God bless you.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

A. WELLESLEY.

* The late Lord Grey.

† Major Mark Wilks, the historian of Southern India, who had acted in Malcolm's absence as Resident at Mysore.

‡ Colonel, afterwards Sir Barry Close.

§ Major Barclay and Captain Sy-

monds had been on General Wellesley's staff.

|| Mr. Piele and the Hon. Arthur Cole had been assistants to the Mysore Resident.

¶ Mr. Buchan was a member of the Madras Civil Service, and at this time Chief Secretary.

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY TO COLONEL MALCOLM.

Dublin Castle, Oct. 15, 1807.

MY DEAR MALCOLM, — I received your letters written in March a few days ago upon my return from Zealand, and I took care to communicate to Mr. Dundas your sentiments on the state of the army, and on the causes which have led to the unpleasant temper which appears to exist in it. I agree with you entirely in some of your opinions on the causes which have produced this temper, particularly among the officers; and I also agree in your opinions on the remedies which ought to be adopted. Fairness of temper, and uniformity and good sense in conduct, by the Government, would soon bring all about; and I have no doubt whatever, that if it should please the Government here to send me to India again, I should have it in my power to re-establish the temper and spirit of the army in the manner in which it existed in our latter times. I acknowledge, however, that I have not much fear for the safety of India, even if things should remain some time longer as they are. No country was ever lost by the mutiny, much less by the discontent, of its troops, and I am not quite certain that in order to procure radical good it is not requisite to show the necessity of a complete change in respect to Indian measures and opinions, and to let matters continue for some time longer in the unpleasant state in which they are. But I have no inclination to refuse my services in that country if they should be called for at present, or to do anything here to serve those for whom I must ever retain the strongest sentiments of gratitude and affection. I don't think it probable that I shall be called upon to go to India; the fact is, that men in power in England think very little of that country; and those who do think of it, feel very little inclination that I should go there. Besides that, I have got pretty high upon the tree since I came here, and those in power think that I cannot well be spared from objects nearer home. At the same time, the Indians in London are crying out for my return.

I shall not pretend to give you any news. You will see the accounts of our Zealand expedition, which has had great effect in London, and has added to the popularity and strength of the

Ministry. The Danes did not defend themselves very well, and I think that we might have taken their capital with greater ease than we forced them to the capitulation which I settled with them. I am now come here in consequence of the disturbed state of this country, and I shall stay here till the meeting of Parliament.

I strongly recommend to you not to return home as long as your health will allow you to remain in India, and as you can retain your office. Take my word for it, you are not yet sufficiently rich; you will have to return there, and you may possibly find it difficult to get employment in the line to which you are so well suited, and to which you have always been accustomed. Remember me most kindly to Wilks, Close, Barclay, and all friends, and believe me, my dear Malcolm,

Ever yours most affectionately,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

We may be sure that Malcolm was not sorry to leave Calcutta. He had intended to start, at the beginning of the cold weather, by land, for Madras; but the "return of a complaint in his leg," as he wrote to Sir John Craddock, compelled him to go by sea; and he set sail at the beginning of the year. On the 14th of January he arrived, "better, but not quite recovered," and was soon deep in council with Lord William Bentinck. He was obliged, however, soon to betake himself to his room, and remain quiet. "I have been laid up since I came here," he wrote to Colonel Lake, "but I have had crowded levees, and among the visitors all the great. These honors do not turn my head, for the sentiment of my mind is more that of pity than of admiration of some of our first characters here. I am reserved upon past subjects, but ready to give my opinion on what is to be done; but that will not, I think, be much courted. Men are fond of consistency, even in error. I want to keep clear of all discussions, to draw my salary for eighteen months, and to join you in old England,

where, by the blessing of God, we will have famous sky-larking.*

"The doctor takes his leave to-morrow," wrote Malcolm to Lord Lake on the 8th of February. He was now anxious to proceed with the least possible delay to Mysore. "The great rulers treat me," he said, "as I expected—with much attention, but little confidence."—"I mean to proceed in eight days more," he wrote to Lord Wellesley on the 4th of March, "to Mysore,† where I anxiously hope I may be permitted to stay during the short period I mean to remain in India. Those motives that would have carried me dawk over the world exist no longer."—"I anticipate with pleasure," he said in another letter, "the prospect of one year's quiet; and that is, I trust, the extent of the period that I shall remain. God knows I should be glad to abridge even that, if possible. I do not think it at all likely that any event can arise that would lead the Governor-General to wish me to move again. But if there should, I must trust to your endeavours to prevent it, for every consideration concurs to make me now as desirous to avoid active employment on the public service as ever I was to court it. I need not state to you the proofs I have given of not being deficient in public zeal. I have been rewarded, I admit, by distinction in the service; but if a man is wished to go on, further stimulus must be found, and I confess, as far as I can judge my own case, I have every inducement to stop, and not a solitary one to proceed. . . . My mind is as full of ambition as ever; but I have determined, on the most serious reflection, to

* In this letter there is another characteristic passage, worthy of a place in a note: "The races are on the 26th. Grant and I have two horses for the two first maidens, *Marquis* and *Sir Arthur* (all in the family). If not

lamed by the course, which from want of rain is like brick, they will, I think, run hard for both purses."

† His departure was subsequently delayed. He started on the 21st of March.

retire, and avoid all public employment, unless a period arrives in which I can be certain that my services will be justly appreciated and rewarded. And if it is conceived that any ability, knowledge, or experience I possess can be usefully directed to the promotion of the public interests, I must be stimulated to exertion by a fair prospect of just and honorable encouragement."

So Malcolm turned his face to Mysore in no very happy frame of mind. It need not be repeated that he was a man of a cheerful nature and a sanguine temperament; but he had strong feelings, was very sensible of injustice and ingratitude, and a knowledge of unrequited service always stung him to the quick. It hurt him in the tenderest point to think that all his zealous and successful exertions in behalf of the national interests had not secured for him the good-will of his employers. He never forgot that he was the servant of the East India Company, and that to the East India Company he had a right to look for the recognition of his services. But his friends at home assured him that he was regarded with no sort of favor at the India House. He was looked upon as a disciple of the dangerous Wellesley school, and, what is more, the very cock and captain of it.* Charles Grant was in those days little less than the Company itself; and he was, on principle, averse to war and conquest. I cannot mention his name without

* Malcolm at this time had just received a letter from a friend in London, containing the following passage: "Your friends are rejoiced that you were the instrument of the general pacification of India; and from the joy which that event gave to all parties, and particularly to the Court of Directors, combined with the very handsome testimony of Lord Lake and of Government to your services, they thought that your conduct would re-

ceive high approbation, if not solid reward. My anxieties led me to make inquiries on the subject, and I am indignant at stating the result. Everything is ruled by party spirit. Every testimony to your services is received with disgust instead of approbation, as adding to the reputation of a man whose crime it is to have been distinguished under the Government of Lord Wellesley, and who is believed to remain attached to that nobleman."

respect. Whatever he said, or whatever he did, had the stamp of honesty upon it. He was thoroughly conscientious: always in earnest. But I believe that he did not always estimate aright the force of circumstances under which others acted; and that therefore, without knowing it, he was sometimes prejudiced, and, without meaning it, unjust.

But the irritation in Malcolm's mind was but temporary. His natural cheerfulness and geniality soon asserted themselves; and he had scarcely returned to Mysore before he was ready for any great enterprise that might afford an opportunity for strenuous action. There was not much to be done in Mysore. Fortunatè alike in its European and in its Native administrators, the country was flourishing to our heart's content. It had not only had the benefit of the master-minds of Arthur Wellesley, Barry Close, Josiah Webbe, and Mark Wilks, but it had found in the Dewan Purneah a native statesman equally honest and able, bent upon co-operating to the utmost with these high-minded English officers. Malcolm said, and truly, that it was the "best model of this description of Asiatic connexion;"* and he doubtless

* Whilst at Madras, Malcolm wrote to Sir Edward Peltew a long and very able letter on the different Native States—one of those marvels of industry which are continually exciting our wonder that a man who was so continually on the move could find time to write so much and so well. In this letter he says: "The Rajah of Mysore is a minor, and affairs are conducted by the Dewan, or Minister, whose name is Purneah. He has held high station in Mysore for nearly fifty years; and was as much respected for his wisdom and talent for government by Hyder and Tippoo as he is now by the Mysore and English Governments. All communications with this State are conducted through the Resident, whose

duty it is to aid with his advice without interfering with the management of the country. As the representative of the Supreme Government, he possesses an influence which is sufficient to check any disposition to go wrong in the Mysore Government, and his authority shields it from any excesses on the part of the British military stationed in its provinces. The connexion between Mysore and the British Government owes much to the ability and integrity of Sir A. Wellesley, Colonel Close, the late Mr. Webbe, and Major Wilks, whose talents have been successfully employed in its improvement and cultivation. I have been Resident of Mysore for nearly four years, but have been absent almost all

intended to convey higher praise than the words actually contain. The fact is, that at this time it was the only good model. But pleasant as it was to contemplate so much prosperity, Malcolm had been too long accustomed to an active, stirring life, to satisfy himself with the mere routine work of keeping things as they were in their right places, and superintending the proper working of the model machine. He ever desired to have work to do—but here the work was already done. It was, I suspect, nothing more than a delusion, when he thought that he coveted a life of repose. Indeed, those were not days when any man who felt himself capable of energetic action was justified in retiring from the scene. It was an age of revolutions and revulsions. The destinies of nations were trembling in the balance. India—England—the homes of Englishmen all over the world, were threatened by the gigantic ambition of the French conqueror. Every fleet from Europe brought tidings of great events which stirred Malcolm's heart as with the sound of a trumpet, and made him eager to take part in the great struggle for existence. What if the French established themselves in Turkey—snatching the pillow from beneath the head of the "sick man"—and struck thence at the British-Indian Empire? Might not a small, well-equipped force, be despatched to Bussorah—and who so fit to command it as Malcolm? It was, at all events, a suggestion worthy to be conveyed to the Governor-General, so he wrote to the Chief Secretary on the subject :

[TO MR. EDMONSTONE.]—*May 6, 1807.*—If a war with the Porte takes place, I consider it as a matter of course that every measure will be taken to distress that State, as the likeliest mode

that period on other duties, and have, therefore, had little opportunity of promoting the success of the alliance. But I am now on the road to settle

there for a year or two; and during that period I shall labor hard to confirm and strengthen the good work of my able predecessors."

of forcing it to withdraw from its present connexion with France. Our means of striking at the power and resources of the Turkish Empire from this quarter, either by arms or negotiation, are too obvious, I should conceive, to escape observation in England, and, if war takes place, orders, I think, to that effect, may be anticipated.

Under this impression, I beg you will communicate to Sir George Barlow my willingness to afford every aid that my knowledge of the means and disposition of the Court of Persia and that of Baghdad enables me to afford, with respect to the best mode of attacking the eastern possessions of Turkey, or of exciting other States to that measure, and of my readiness to proceed in charge of any important political mission and command of any expedition* (that may eventually be sent in that quarter) should Government consider my local experience and information such as to qualify me for so high a trust.

Unless Buonaparte meets an early check, an event which I am concerned to say is rather to be hoped than expected, the safety of our country must depend upon our making the most active and vigorous struggles to limit his career in every quarter of the universe. This consideration must be paramount to all others, or we are lost, and it ought to actuate the conduct of every individual as well as that of Government. I am sure it does mine, and would make me at this moment (though most anxious to retire from all public life in India) engage with ardor in any scene where I might hope to contribute my mite of exertion (trifling as it would be) towards the great national object of checking the progress of this modern Poliphemus, whose present arrogant design appears to be to reserve our dear island as the last morsel that is to be crammed into his insatiable maw.

[To MR. EDMONSTONE.]—*May 25, 1807.*—I wrote you a short letter under date the 6th of May, expressing my readiness to go to Bussorah, if the Governor-General thought of employing me in that quarter. War against the Turks has, I observe, commenced, and I must believe it probable a blow will be struck at that empire in a quarter where it is at once so weak and so vital. I believe a thousand European infantry, two troops of European dragoons, a regiment of Native cavalry, and two battalions of

* "A very large expedition would not be required. I am a lieutenant-colonel of three years' standing, and of sufficient rank to command one that was not larger. At all events, the separation of high political powers from military trust would be fatal to success."—J. M.

Sepoys, with a corps of horse artillery, would be an amply sufficient force to commence with. It might be supported or not hereafter, as circumstances required; but with it the Pacha of Baghdad would either be forced to throw off his allegiance and act against the Porte, or he would inevitably lose Bussorah and Baghdad. The Persians would with alacrity join against the Turks.

Sir George Barlow was not a man, under any circumstances, to send the Company's troops to Turkey; but at that time the arrival of his successor was expected, and he could not, of course, commit another to measures of which he might not approve. Lord Minto had been appointed Governor-General of India. In the course of June he arrived at Madras. Did Malcolm then hurry down to meet the new ruler,—or did he urge this expedition upon him in a letter, bristling with facts and weighty with arguments? No; he wrote a letter to his friend John Elliot,* the son and private secretary of the Governor-General, in which he requested only to be left to his repose:

“I am sensible,” he wrote, “that your kindness and friendship may lead you to say more of me to your father than I merit, and to raise expectations I cannot answer, and this consideration leads me to inform you (in confidence) of my future views and wishes, with which you are, I believe, already generally acquainted.

“My chief object is to remain, while in India, quiet at Mysore, and the desire I have to avoid future active employment in this country (even if I had the option) refers to causes which do not appear likely to change, as the last letters I have from my friends in England inform me that the late strong recommendations of me to the authorities in England are likely to share the same fate as that which has attended every testimony of my public services for these last nine years—that is, to be totally neglected; and that I never (if my exertions are ever so successful and distinguished) need expect different treatment, as I have committed the crime of doing

* The Honorable John Elliot, of the Bengal Civil Service, now (1855) member for Roxburghshire.

my duty under Lord Wellesley, and am supposed to continue attached to that nobleman. If such are the grounds upon which I am to be judged, long may I be honored with their reprobation. But though independence of mind and circumstances makes me indifferent to such treatment, as far as it relates to myself personally, as it can have no effect upon me but that of limiting an ambition the gratification of which might not have added to my happiness, I dread the operation of such vile party spirit which cannot but repress that zeal and ardor that are so indispensable to the discharge of high and important duties in an empire of this magnitude.

"You will pardon this selfish digression, but it was necessary I should state the motives that incline me to ease instead of action, and which would make me adverse (unless on some very urgent call) to re-embark on any active scenes. My ambition to raise myself in life is as strong as ever, but I at last perceive that this country is unfavorable to the attainment of that object, and am therefore little inclined to sacrifices which promise no adequate return, and in future (unless some great changes take place) I must be content to recognise (which I have hitherto never done) as a leading principle of action, the sordid motive of adding a few more rupees to my fortune, that I may be the sooner enabled to revisit the lovely banks of the Eske, from my cottage on which I will pay an occasional visit to your proud mansion on the banks of the Teviot."*

To this letter, written on the 29th of June, Lord Minto himself replied, thanking Malcolm for kindnesses conferred upon his son. "I am anxious also," he wrote, "to assure you with my own hand that nothing would have been more gratifying to me than the pleasure of making your acquaintance, or more profitable than the instruction you are able to afford on the most important

* In reply to what Malcolm had said about the "banks of the Teviot," Lord Minto wrote: "The prospects which you open of future intercourse between the Eske and the Teviot are distant, but very alluring. I must not

yet, however, permit even my imagination to travel in that direction. I trust, however, such days may come, and while they are preparatory, I beg you to believe in my regard and esteem."

branches of our public affairs. I should, indeed, have yielded to the temptation of inviting you to Madras, if I had not been restrained by a consideration, of which, although it must carry me back, I fear, thirty years, I still perfectly feel the force."

To the explorer of Sir John Malcolm's correspondence the meaning of this would not be very clear, if it were not for a brief postscript in the letter quoted above to Mr. John Elliot. In this postscript Malcolm writes: "Charlotte desires me to send her kindest regards. It is to take place on the 4th of July." Before Lord Minto wrote it *had* taken place. The *it* was Malcolm's marriage.

We see now what was the cause of the altered tone of Malcolm's correspondence—why the expedition to Turkey gave place in his desires to a season of repose. From this time the world and all within it—its joys, its sorrows, and its duties, were to wear a different aspect. At Madras, Malcolm had been on terms of intimacy with Mr. and Mrs. Cockburn.* The lady was the eldest daughter of Colonel Alexander Campbell, of his Majesty's 74th Regiment, who subsequently rose to the command of the Madras army.† A younger sister, Miss Charlotte Campbell, was then an inmate of the house. Up to this time Malcolm had carried about with him a heart the warmest affections of which were given to his mother and his sisters. It was, in truth, a very warm and loving heart. But a life of constant action—of change of scene,

* Brother of that Mr. Cockburn, of whom mention has been made, in connexion with the retirement of Lord Clive, in Chapter VIII.

† After fighting under Wellington, both in India and in the Peninsula, and receiving for his distinguished services in the field a Baronetcy and K.C.B.-ship, Sir Alexander Campbell was appointed Commander-in-Chief of

Madras, where he died in December, 1824. He had two sons in the army, both of whom were killed in action, in consequence of which, as a special mark of royal favor, the baronetcy was continued in the female line, and is now represented by Mrs. Cockburn's son—Sir Alexander Cockburn Campbell, who married his cousin, Sir John Malcolm's eldest daughter.

of change of society, of varied objects and varied interests—is never favorable to the growth of that tender, but absorbing, passion which, once developed, influences the whole of a man's subsequent career. At the barbarous courts and in the busy camps, where so large a portion of Malcolm's adult life had been spent, the voice of woman syllabbling the language of his country had been heard only in his dreams. At other times—brief intervals—when on the Staff at Madras or Calcutta, his mind was full of ambition; or more truly, it may be said, he had found nothing so attractive as to dispute with that great manly passion the possession of his heart. But now—a man of Malcolm's character does everything in earnest, and in a large way—his acquaintance with Charlotte Campbell soon ripened into love. With the charms of youth and beauty were united in her a good natural understanding and a cultivated mind. Vivacious without levity, elegant without affectation, she attracted and interested Malcolm by the cheerfulness of her disposition and the grace of her demeanor; and he soon found, on nearer acquaintance, that these were but the outward signs of a well-regulated mind. He loved as men love in the vigor of their years, in the maturity of their intellect, when the freshness of the heart has survived the departure of youth by bravely withstanding its trials and temptations. There are many who at four-and-twenty are much older, in respect of all the exhaustion of age, than Malcolm was at eight-and-thirty.

Years, indeed, sate lightly upon him. There were few men in India of a finer presence; few more active, more cheerful, more full of enthusiasm, more adroit in all athletic exercises. But there were higher qualities than these to secure the success of his suit. To the young lady's father their engagement gave infinite satisfaction. He knew Malcolm well, and he wrote to him saying,

“Were the choice of all the men in India in my offer for my daughter, I would have pitched upon you. To your cherishing care I consign my beloved child, in the fullest confidence and conviction that you are every way worthy of her.” So on the 4th of July, John Malcolm and Charlotte Campbell became man and wife*—and the plan of the Turkish expedition was folded up for a time. What a difference had a few days—had a few words—made! On the 25th of May, Malcolm had “repeated with anxiety his offers of service,” to lead an expedition to Turkey; and on the 30th, the dearest object of life encompassed by four walls, he was writing to Colonel Campbell, asking for his daughter’s hand. The expedition to Turkey so eagerly sought was a sign only of the inquietude and uncertainty of love.

And now Malcolm was thoroughly happy. But he was not a man to subside into inaction because he had a young wife to make idleness a delight. He was not a man, in common phrase, to be spoilt by marriage; nor was Charlotte Malcolm one likely so to spoil him. What he had long wanted was, “some one to trust his glory to;” some one near at hand to be proud of his success. He had found one; a soldier’s daughter fit to be a soldier’s wife. After so many years of stirring and trying work, the enjoyment of a few months of repose was, perhaps, the best service he could render to the State. But he soon felt that he was ready again for a life of action. There was now a new incentive to exertion. The once cherished idea of a speedy return to England was abandoned. So Malcolm again turned his thoughts towards some extensive scene of action, on which new honors might be gained to ennoble the name he had given to his wife.

* They were married at Mysore, accompanied Malcolm on a visit to the whither Mr. Cockburn’s family had ac- Residency.

He was not altogether satisfied with his situation at Mysore. Lord William Bentinck, on whose sterling integrity he set a just value, had been driven from the Government of Madras; and Mr. Petrie, the senior member of Council, had succeeded temporarily to his place. To the manner in which the affairs of the Presidency were administered, and especially to the effect of this management on the Government of Mysore, Malcolm saw much, in all seriousness, to object.* He became desirous, therefore, to be removed to a new sphere of public utility, and he declared his wishes very unreservedly to Lord Minto :

"If the present Government," he wrote in October, "of Madras should be permanent, or if another should be formed with principles in any degree similar, I fear I should be more exposed to contest and discussion than perhaps any other person in my situation. My decided attachment to the Marquis Wellesley, my admiration of the principles of his Government, and the active share I took in the execution of many of his measures, and particularly in some which personally affected those who are now high in power at Madras, have, I am satisfied, left impressions on their minds which will not soon be eradicated.

"To these impressions as an individual I am indifferent, but their existence must prevent all kind of confidence or cordiality on either part, and may tend to aggravate discussion, and eventually give the color of personal prejudice to every effort that a sense of public duty might lead me to make to preserve from injury the interests committed to my charge. These considerations, connected with the great dislike I feel to enter into any dispute or discussion, have made me desirous (unless this Residency is placed under Bengal, or a very decided change takes place in the councils of Fort St. George) that your Lordship would place me (if an opportunity offered) in a station more directly under the Supreme Government whose immediate orders it has been my pride and good fortune to execute for eight years with uniform approbation.

* He had always urged the expediency of placing Mysore immediately under the Supreme Government.

"If your Lordship should, from what I have stated, condescend to consider my personal feelings, I should prefer being removed to Poonah (which is, I understand, likely to be soon vacant) to any other station. It is my present intention to remain two or three years longer in India, and this resolution (which the late change in my condition has led me to adopt) has in some degree altered my views. Instead of wishing that repose which, when I was on the eve of returning to Europe, I required to complete my different papers, and settle my private affairs, I am now anxious (and this anxiety has been chiefly created by your Lordship's encouraging kindness) to augment my claims to favor and distinction. I hope we shall long be exempt from the evils of war, but I am certain, if we are destined to have any further trouble from the Mahratta States, that Poonah will be the great centre of their intrigues; and I certainly should indulge a hope that my experience in the politics of the different Mahratta chiefs would enable me to fulfil the duties of Resident at Poonah at such a crisis, if it should occur in a manner that would give satisfaction to your Lordship.

"Another reason which would lead me to prefer Poonah (if I was to remove from my present station) is my perfect knowledge of the Peishwah, and my conviction that the conduct of the British interests at the Court of that Prince would be greatly facilitated from the influence which that knowledge might enable me to exercise over his mind; and in this point I should hope for success, from a conviction that I enjoy the Peishwah's confidence and regard, of which I had a most unequivocal proof last year. When Colonel Close informed him of his intention to proceed to England, he requested that officer to signify to me his earnest desire that I should be his successor.

"I have taken advantage of your Lordship's kind permission to address you with perfect freedom on a subject almost wholly personal. If the solicitation I have made to be eventually removed to Poonah should in the smallest degree interfere with the arrangement your Lordship may have made for the duties of that station on the occurrence of Colonel Close's departure, I can neither expect nor desire any attention to my wishes, the grounds of which your Lordship may not approve. My present station is no doubt both enviable and honorable, and I can assure your Lordship nothing but the considerations I have stated could have ever made me entertain a wish to leave it."

But the idea here suggested of a transfer to Poonah was soon dispersed, and in the most satisfactory manner. Colonel Close abandoned for a time his intention to return to England. Malcolm himself had urged his friend to delay his departure, and he now rejoiced that he had not pleaded in vain. With what feelings he regarded Close's resolution may be gathered from the following letter—a letter honorable alike to the writer and the recipient of it. Too little is known of the character and career of Barry Close. His own modesty stood in the way of his fame.

COLONEL MALCOLM TO COLONEL CLOSE.

Mysore, Nov. 10, 1807.

MY DEAR COLONEL,—I have received your letter of the 2nd November, and, on the public account, I rejoice most sincerely that you have resolved to stay some time longer at your post; on personal grounds I am also happy that I have no chance of being moved, as the appointment of Sir George Barlow fully does away all my apprehensions about Mysore, and with them has fled my desire of leaving this Residency.

You think the French intrigues at the Court of Persia have made a deep impression upon Lord Minto's mind, and that it is likely he has me in contemplation for employment in that quarter. Is your opinion upon this subject grounded solely upon the casual expression of his Lordship's letter to me, or have you heard or seen anything further upon it? You may suppose I am not a little anxious; but from what I have lately heard from Bengal, Lord Minto's character is more of a smooth and cautious than a bold and enterprising cast, and he will be satisfied with preserving what we have, without attempting further security, particularly if that is to be purchased by any disbursement, which he will feel in the first instance as a positive evil. If this is his character, and I have it from a deep observer, he will not send a mission to Persia unless he receives orders from England to do so, which I think is by no means improbable.

Your friends will, no doubt, be greatly disappointed, but I hope they will have the gratification of seeing the great sacrifices you

have repeatedly made of your private comfort at the shrine of your public duty rewarded in a distinguished manner; this will be but an act of common justice, and Lord Minto cannot, I should conceive, have taken the step he has done without making every endeavour to obtain it. Your delicacy, my dear Colonel, upon this point and others of a similar nature, may operate injuriously to yourself and to the service to which you belong. I would not have you refuse your services, but I would have you assert yourself, and show that you were aware of their value. Without half of your pretensions, I have done so, and every friend to whom I have spoken or written upon the subject has approved my conduct. I cannot consider it as any offence against modesty to tell a Governor-General who solicits me to remain at my post, because he thinks my knowledge and experience will promote the general success of his administration, that my views in life are directed to the enjoyment of that independent fortune which I have acquired in a long, arduous, and honorable course of public service, and that I cannot, in justice to myself and friends, abandon such a prospect of happiness and enjoyment, unless I am assured such a sacrifice will be compensated by my advancement in public life, by my receiving, in addition of rank (*i. e.* title), addition of fortune, or addition of station, what will satisfy me that I am making progress towards a specific end to which my labors are directed. If I acted otherwise, I should think I was wasting my life between two objects, that of the enjoyment of private life, or an advancement proportionate to my claims in the public service; besides, in acting in this manner, am I not pursuing the track of the most honorable and the most independent men in England? Which of them (whose circumstances are affluent) remains in the public service (unless, perhaps, on some great emergency) for one instant, except upon his own terms? And as to the praise of superiors, whether conveyed in a private or public form, men of established reputation and independent fortune would treat it (unless accompanied by something more substantial) with ridicule. Why should not the same feelings and the same rules of conduct apply to India, where the sacrifice for the public good too often includes health, and is always much greater than in England?

There are other considerations besides those of personal feeling that have always had a great sway in my mind upon this question.

That is the state of the service to which I belong, connected with the principles to be established for the preservation of this empire. The service has always been depressed, and particularly of late, owing to the great influx of King's troops, among whom there must be men of higher rank and higher interest than there are in the Company's service; but neither of these qualities, rank or interest, will give knowledge or experience, and by the latter this empire can only be kept. The Company's officers must, therefore (generally speaking), be the great instruments of its preservation; and the highest merit any officer of rank immediately from England can have, must have its origin in a liberality of sentiment and natural discernment that enables him to employ with confidence and successfully those whose local information renders them exclusively fit for the service. This remark applies from the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief down to a Lieutenant-Colonel of a new-raised corps just landed on the beach. The general objection to Company's officers filling those higher stations in India to which every other British subject is entitled to look up to, is their want of natural rank and distinction, and consequently of that support and confidence which every officer placed in stations of great responsibility should have from the Government he serves. This injury is the fruit of injustice, and they are disqualified from all hopes of attaining those stations to which they would appear, by the occupation of their whole lives, peculiarly fitted, because they have been kept from attaining that public notice and those honors to which their services were entitled by the operation of a systematic depression; and their passiveness in this state has been argued as a convincing proof of the lowness of their ambition, and their consequent unfitness for anything beyond that subordinate line of laborious drudgery for the reputation of others to which they have been hitherto destined. With hardly one exception, the highest honorable distinction that any Company's officer has attained has been the personal friendship and flattering attention of some of the distinguished characters who have within these last twelve years governed India. The feelings of the happy few who attained this enviable distinction have, no doubt, been much gratified; but is this the only species of reward by which that class of men—who must, whether in subordinate or superior stations, be the chief instruments of our rule in this country—are to be stimulated to exertion?

It has hitherto been so, but it cannot continue, if we are not lost to all wisdom and reflection; and the increased magnitude of our Indian Empire, combined with the state of Europe, must force all questions upon the serious attention of the Government in England. Under such circumstances I conceive it to be the particular duty of those officers of the Company's service, who stand high to be just to themselves, to the service to which they belong, and to the interests of their country, by claiming that distinction to which they are entitled, and which would long ago have been rendered them had they served their country with half the zeal and half the success in any other quarter of the universe. Of those to whom I have alluded you are, my dear Colonel, the acknowledged head. No claims can be brought in competition with yours, and the services of no man can be of equal consequence to Government. But all the world are more sensible to your value than you are yourself, and I am convinced the most modest assertion of your just rights would give you pain. But I have tried hard to persuade you, in this hurried letter, that a manly and direct statement of those commendable and honorable views of ambition which, from all your sentiments and your whole course of life, I am sure you must entertain, would not only be a justice to yourself and to the service to which you belong, but might, in its operation, tend considerably to promote the interests of your country, by aiding, with other circumstances, to draw its most serious attention to a body of men who cannot be much longer neglected or injured without serious danger. I have fully adopted that line which I have recommended to you, and I am proud of having done so. My cause would, no doubt, receive great support from your taking the same road, but you would do it with a strength that must ensure your reaching the goal, while I, perhaps, lagged far behind.

Yours ever affectionately,

JOHN MALCOLM.

The appointment of Sir George Barlow to the Government of Madras was welcomed by Malcolm as an augury of good. "He comes like an angel of light among the heroes of Madras," he wrote to Mr. John Elliot; "and as to Mysore, no appointment could give me more confi-

dence. I know him to be pure and steadfast in his support of public principles. On these grounds, I feel relieved from all alarm, and beg to withdraw anything that looked like personal solicitation in my letter of the 8th of October. I am, of course, still ready to answer any call of the public service, and shall rejoice in every opportunity that is offered me of distinguishing myself. But, separated from that consideration, I would sooner remain at Mysore during my stay in India, than be removed to any other station."

A "call of the public service"—and a great one—was less remote than Malcolm imagined. He had overestimated the cautious policy of Lord Minto. Colonel Close, indeed, was right when he hinted that the Governor-General was thinking of another mission to Persia. Affairs, indeed, were in such a state, that it seemed very necessary that something should be done. What Malcolm thought upon the subject may be gathered from the following interesting and important letter, which forms an excellent preface to the narrative which follows; and after a lapse of nearly half a century, has a new interest in connexion with later events:

COLONEL MALCOLM TO LORD MINTO.

Mysore, Nov. 23, 1806.

MY LORD,—Being fully aware of the impression upon your Lordship's mind regarding the importance of Persia in the scale of European as well as Asiatic policy, I consider no apology necessary for transmitting the enclosed memorandum, which has been drawn up by my relation Captain Pasley, who has been about four years in Persia, and has during his employment there repeatedly merited and received the approbation of Government.

I coincide fully in the opinion given by Captain Pasley in the enclosed, and am satisfied that if the war between Russia and France has terminated in a manner favorable to the interests of the latter (which from the last accounts there is reason to fear it

has), Turkey can be only considered hereafter as a province of the French Government, and under such a state of circumstances, British India will be exposed to a danger which it will require every measure of preventive policy to avert, for the nature of this danger is such, that it cannot be allowed to approach without imminent risk to the very existence of the British power in India.

I have learnt from respectable authority that almost all the provinces of Turkey are already inundated with French officers, and when the war with Russia is over, it is evident that Buonaparte can spare any number of troops to aid in the support, or rather restoration, of the tottering power of the Ottomans. The probable first employment of such a force would be the reduction to order and complete obedience of the most rebellious provinces of the empire, among which may be numbered Egypt, Syria, and Baghdad; and if that service is ever effected by the aid of a French force, we must anticipate the actual establishment of the influence and power of that nation over the countries subdued, which would give it an advanced and advantageous position from whence it could carry on intrigues and operations against the British power in India, on any scale that suited the views of the moment.

The ambassadors of Buonaparte are said to have been very successful in establishing an influence at the Court of Persia. Their success is no doubt to be chiefly attributed to the war between France and Russia, but we are not to infer the effect will cease with the cause. A jealousy of the Russians will continue to influence the conduct of the King of Persia, and the Emperor of the French, if he has not included that monarch in the treaty he is stated to have made with Russia, will discover other ways of improving a connexion through which he is known to cherish hopes of striking a blow at the power of Great Britain; and should he succeed in the establishment of the influence of the French over Turkey, he will approximate himself to the scene of his policy, which will not only enable him to choose his opportunities, but to work upon the hopes and fears of the Persian Court in a manner that must greatly facilitate, if it does not ensure, his success.

This danger, though prospective, is very serious, and I am satisfied it will require the most early and spirited measures on the part of the British Government to defeat it. The first measure that would suggest itself is the deputation of a mission to the Persian Court, but that would be of no utility unless a policy of a

very decided nature was adopted. An effort should be made, in the first instance, to prevail upon the Court of Russia to admit of the mediation of the English Government in the settlement of its disputes with Persia. In the present state of Europe it may, I think, be expected that there would be little difficulty in obtaining the assent of Russia to so equitable a proposition. It must be obvious it could be solicited from no motive but a desire of arresting the progress of France in a direction where the establishment of her power would be as dangerous to Russia as to England. Should, however, her consent be withheld, it would become a question how far it would be politic to abandon Persia to the avowed ambition of Russia, or to encounter the greater evil of allowing that State to throw itself into the arms of France to avoid subjection to Russia.

The King of Persia was very urgent with Mr. Manesty to obtain the interference of the British Government in the settlement of his dispute with Russia, and his ambassador, Abdul Nebbee Khan, repeatedly spoke to me upon the same subject at Calcutta. It may, therefore, be conjectured that it was the despair of not receiving any aid from us that led the King of Persia to a negotiation with Buonaparte. I am, indeed, perfectly convinced that, without a very strong cause, such an intercourse could not have been established. The Court of Persia is fully aware of the value of the alliance of the British Government, which, from its possessions in India, is the only European state whose friendship can be of any real use to it; that Court knows that the English have an obvious and great interest in maintaining and improving the strength of Persia, as a barrier to India. It must be fully satisfied that nation can have no objection in effecting the conquest, or even an establishment in Persia; and, on the other hand, its rulers can hardly be so blind as not to perceive that the complete subjection of their country must be the first step towards an invasion of India, by either Russia or France, as, without that preliminary measure, these nations would be at the mercy of Persia, a change in whose politics would destroy their line of communication, and cut off all hopes of retreat.

These reflections are so obvious and so forcible that they must ever give the greatest advantages to a British negotiation, and nothing but the supineness of that nation and the activity of its

enemies can subvert its influence at a Court which every motive of prudent policy must dispose to the cultivation of its friendship. Should, however, the King of Persia be ever so far deluded as to give openly and decidedly a preference to the enemies of Great Britain, that nation should, instead of having recourse to measures of fruitless conciliation, which would, undoubtedly, be mistaken for proofs of weakness, take such steps as were calculated to awaken the Persian monarch to a just sense of the importance of its friendship. The establishment of a more intimate alliance with the Pacha of Baghdad, the withdrawing of the Factory from Obushehir, the formation of a settlement on the Gulf (a point which is, under every view, of importance), and the temporary interruption of the intercourse between India and Persia, would either oblige the King of Persia to alter his policy, or throw his dominions and life into great hazard; for these measures would not only affect his reputation, but create the most serious discontent among his subjects, and that would, in all likelihood, end in revolt and rebellion.

I have shortly stated the leading reasons which would, in my opinion, be likely to influence the conduct of the Court of Persia; but, after all, it is to be remarked that the king of that country, like all barbarous and despotic monarchs, will be found to act oftener from motives of caprice and pride than of policy and judgment; and it is, perhaps, this consideration, above all others, which renders it so dangerous to leave the field of diplomacy open to our enemies. The support of our political influence in Persia must and will be attended with both trouble and expense; but what is that to the evils which it is our purpose to avert, and which, though distant, are of a magnitude that must make every reflecting man alarmed for the best interests of his country?

I remain, with the greatest respect,

Your Lordship's grateful servant,

JOHN MALCOLM.

Soon after the receipt of this letter, Lord Minto communicated to Malcolm his desire that he should proceed with as little delay as possible to the Persian Gulf.

CHAPTER XV.

CONTEMPLATED EXPEDITION TO PERSIA.

[1808—1809.]

THE PEACE OF TILSIT—THE MISSION OF SIR HARFORD JONES — MALCOLM'S DEPARTURE FOR THE GULF—STATE OF POLITICS AT TEHERAN—FAILURE OF MALCOLM'S MISSION—VOYAGE TO CALCUTTA—SECOND MISSION TO THE GULF—RECALL TO THE PRESIDENCY.

WHEN Lord Minto arrived in India a French invasion loomed in the distance. There was nothing extravagant in the apprehensions which the anticipation of this event excited in the breasts of the leading statesmen of India. The ambition of Napoleon was not staggered by the magnitude of the undertaking, and it seemed that the resources of France were equal to the accomplishment of the design. Opportunity only had been wanting, and that appeared now to have arrived. If Napoleon, by disencumbering himself of one of his most formidable European enemies, could contract the sphere of his military operations in the West, there seemed to be nothing to hinder him from commencing a career of Oriental conquest.

The peace of Tilsit converted, in an hour, the Emperor of France and the Autocrat of Russia into sworn friends and active allies. They had at least one common

bond of sympathy and interest between them. Both meditated the extension of their empire in the direction of the rich kingdoms and principalities of the East. They had scarcely laid down their arms after the bloody struggles of Eylau and Friedland, when they plunged into mighty schemes for the joint invasion of India, and the total subversion of British power in that quarter of the world. Here then was a danger to be encountered. Those were not times when statesmen could suffer themselves to fall asleep in incredulity; they had become so habituated to great and startling historical events, that nothing seemed improbable in their eyes. At all events, the peril was sufficient to keep our Indian rulers wisely on the alert, and to suggest the expediency of raising every possible barrier, in the intervening countries, to the progress of an enemy advancing from the West.

Those countries were the Punjab, Afghanistan, and Persia. To each Lord Minto determined to despatch a friendly mission. It is no small proof of his discernment that his choice fell on three such men as Metcalfe, Elphinstone, and Malcolm. The two first were then young, and comparatively untried men: but it seemed a mere matter of course that the last should be sent to Persia. Who had equal experience of the Persian Court—who was held in such esteem there—who had personal qualities so likely to secure success in such a conjuncture—who so conciliatory, when conciliation was required—who so vigorous, when there was need of vigor? There was more difficult work now for a Persian envoy than there had been eight years before, when Zemaun Shah was to be check-mated; a king of shreds and patches, who was check-mating himself. But Malcolm was equal to higher duties; capable of more arduous labors. For years had brought enlarged experience and a riper judgment, detracting nothing from the energy and

elasticity of his youth. What missions he had conducted in the interval—what lessons of diplomacy he had learned—what an accession of self-reliance he had gained ! Was it possible that Lord Minto could think of any other man to conduct a new embassy to the Persian Court ?

But there were other and higher authorities, and it *was* possible for them to ignore, or to reject, Malcolm's claims, and to think of another ambassador. Lord Minto, before leaving England, had urged those claims upon the King's Ministers and the Court of Directors ; and Sir Arthur Wellesley had done the same. But they had failed. The fact is, that Malcolm, though perhaps the most popular man in India, was not popular in the regions of Leadenhall-street and Whitehall. He had the reputation of being an able, an energetic, but an unsafe man. By *unsafe* they meant *extravagant*. They believed that on his former mission to Persia he had spent a large sum of public money ; and they determined now to despatch to Teheran one with less magnificent notions of the greatness of England and the dignity of an ambassador. There was a gentleman then in England ready to their hand and fit for their purpose. Mr. Harford Jones had resided for many years in a mixed political and commercial capacity on the shores of the Persian Gulf ; he was not without a certain kind of cleverness, but it had never obtained for him any reputation in India, and among the Persians themselves his standing had been never such as to invest him with any prestige of authority, or to secure for him general respect. What it was that particularly recommended him to the authorities at home—except that he was in almost every respect the very reverse of Malcolm—it is difficult to say ; but they made him a Baronet, and despatched him, with large powers from the Crown, as Ambassador to Persia, to

counteract the influence of the French and to conclude a treaty with the Shah. It was at first designed that he should proceed to Teheran by the way of St. Petersburg; but the peace of Tilsit necessitated the abandonment of this project, and when Lord Minto arrived in India he was altogether ignorant of the manner in which, under these altered circumstances, the representative of the Court of St. James would shape his movements in the East.

In this state of uncertainty the Governor-General believed that there was still room for Malcolm to be beneficially employed (pending the arrival of Jones at Teheran) in that part of the country which the influence of the latter would hardly reach. It was proposed, therefore, to despatch him at once to the Persian Gulf with a commission of somewhat general and not very defined character. The French had established a very imposing embassy at Teheran, which Lord Minto described as the advanced guard of a French army, and now Malcolm was to be sent forward, in like manner, with the portfolio of the diplomatist masking the muzzles of our British guns. Lord Minto, at this time, believed that the danger was not one to be met by a mere display of diplomatic address. He thought that the services of an energetic soldier would be required, and that Malcolm, therefore, as one at home either in the camp or at the council-board, was the right man to be employed. So he wrote to him, both publicly and privately, proffering the commission—with what feelings may be gathered from the following passages in the more confidential communication of the two:

“I should not have been a week in India without proposing a similar measure, if obstacles not to be surmounted by any authority in this country had not opposed it. The intimate con-

nexion between Great Britain and Russia in Europe rendered a separate negotiation with Persia from hence too hazardous and delicate to be undertaken without express orders from home. And the orders from home were directly the contrary. It was thought an indispensable principle in the Persian mission that it should be deputed and directed from England, and that it should bear a direct representation of his Majesty. Agreeably to that system, Sir Harford Jones was actually appointed before my departure from Europe, and I had every reason to believe that he would arrive at his station before I should reach Bengal. I did not conceal my own sentiments in England concerning the *name* to be selected for that most important mission—a mission which required qualifications hardly to be found united in more than one name that I have ever heard. That name has been the subject of very clear and strong representations from me to the authorities at home since I assumed this Government. In the mean while, my own hands were effectually restrained by the two considerations already mentioned—the connexion between English and Russian politics, and the actual appointment of another person. I am now released by the separation which there is reason to apprehend between Great Britain and Russia; and by the growing necessity of the case in Asia. We have not heard of Sir Harford Jones's arrival in Persia; and, indeed, all that I yet know of his mission is, that he was ordered to repair in the first instance to St. Petersburg, in order to carry with him from thence, if it could be obtained (of which there was little prospect), the consent of that Court to the mediation of Great Britain between Russia and Persia. If there is a rupture between Russia and England, as there is much reason to suppose, I do not know by what route Sir Harford Jones can penetrate to Persia. At all events, your commission is framed in such a manner as not to clash with a diplomatic mission to the King of Persia, if you should find Sir Harford Jones at that Court. You will perceive that I have not admitted into this measure any doubt of your consent to it. Knowing as I do your public zeal and principles, and without reckoning on the knowledge you have lately afforded me of the manner in which you are affected towards this particular commission, I may safely and fairly say, that neither you nor I have any choice on this occasion. I *must* propose this service to you,

because the public interests (I might perhaps use a stronger word) indispensably require it. You *must* accept for the same reason. I am convinced that the call of public duty is the most powerful that can be made on your exertions. . . . I should have felt great personal gratification in seeing you here previous to your departure, and many advantages would undoubtedly have been derived from such an opportunity of conversing with you on many interesting points relating to your mission. It has not been without much deliberation, therefore, that I have renounced that benefit. But the service you are going upon is as pressing in point of time as it is important in its object. An alliance is actually formed with our enemy. A French embassy, which might properly be called the advance guard of a French army, is already arrived; and the approach of such an army, if not certain, must, however, be considered a part of the case on which our measures must be founded. Every week during which these proceedings continue to operate undisturbed and unopposed must evidently increase extremely the difficulty of counteracting them; and the delay which was unavoidable in adopting our present measure can only be compensated by the most immediate and prompt execution of it. . . . You cannot, therefore, depart too immediately for Bombay."—[*January 31, 1808.*]

It need not be said that Malcolm at once accepted the commission, and prepared, with his accustomed promptitude, to enter upon its duties. "I hope," he wrote in reply to the above letter, "from the kindness of Sir Edward Pellew, to be at Bombay in the first week of March, and as I shall not lose a moment at that Presidency, I may expect to reach Bushire about the 15th of April; and I have made arrangements that will enable me, if it should be necessary, to proceed to the Court of Persia in a month after I reach that country."*

* In this letter Malcolm writes: "Sir George Barlow, for whose great kindness and attention to my wishes on this occasion and on all others I feel greatly indebted, will mention to your Lordship an idea which struck both him

and me, relative to my having a higher nominal rank for the purpose of public impression in Persia." In pursuance of this recommendation, Malcolm was gazetted as Brigadier-General.

This was written on the 15th of February, from Madras. On the 17th, Malcolm embarked on board the *Culloden*, accompanied by his wife, for Bombay. The "other members of his family" were Captain James Grant, Captain Charles Pasley, and Lieutenants Little and Stewart. He had scarcely embarked, when intelligence reached him which made him look doubtingly on the prospects before him. Sir Harford Jones, who was to have proceeded, as I have said, by the way of Russia to the Persian Court, was now bound for Bombay, with the intention of proceeding thence to the Gulf. There was a prospect, therefore, of the two envoys coming into personal as well as political collision; and it appeared to Malcolm not improbable that he would be compelled to retire from the scene.

During the voyage he wrote a long letter to Sir Arthur Wellesley, in which much is said about the general state of India, and much about the particular mission on which he was then proceeding—a mission which, as he said, invested him with the fullest powers, and made him a kind of agent-general or superintendent of all the Company's affairs in the Gulf, with instructions to proceed eventually to Teheran or Baghdad. In this letter he speaks, in emphatic language, of the danger likely to result from the despatch of Sir Harford Jones from England, and then proceeds to state the course which he had marked out for himself:

"Anything," he wrote, "like a mission to the Persian Court, before that State had made both advances and concessions after its late conduct, would be highly impolitic; and it was my intention (of which Lord Minto approved) to have insisted, as a preliminary to my journey to that Court, on their abandoning the course they had adopted, to obtain which object I should no doubt have tried every other means of negotiation; but from a knowledge of the character of the king and his ministers, I should have reserved the embassy on

which I was empowered to proceed till I had made them pay some attention to those demands which offended friendship had a right to make. Nor should I have hesitated, if their conduct had called for it, to adopt measures that would have made them sensible that we possessed as ample means of revenging injury as of rewarding attachment. Such a line of conduct would soon, I think, have placed me upon grounds from which I could have conciliated with dignity, and therefore with effect. And at all events that impression of our power and spirit, which it is of such consequence to our interests to maintain, would have been improved and strengthened.* But if we are to run (after the late conduct of Persia) to the feet of the monarch of that country, and try in an humble manner to wheedle ourselves into his good graces, and by some low bows, some gewgaws, and some soothing speeches to conciliate his favor, we shall not only fail in our immediate object, but destroy the character for spirit and power which we have established. The Persians, if it should not occur to their own minds (which it readily would), would soon be persuaded by their French friends that the anxiety and humility with which we sought their friendship was a proof of our terror and weakness, and that they had little to fear from hostility with a power that crouched at the very apprehension of hostilities."

After speaking of the character of Sir Harford Jones, and the circumstances under which Malcolm himself had been invited, without any solicitation upon his part, to proceed to Persia, he goes on to speak of the danger which seemed to him to threaten our Indian Empire, and again urges upon Sir Arthur Wellesley the expediency of turning his face a second time towards the East :

"A report has reached India that the French have actually sent a large force to Constantinople. This I do not believe to be authentic; but that they may do so is, I think, very probable.

* Malcolm here writes as if the occasion had passed—but at this time it belonged to the future; and he subsequently acted in the manner described.

The truth is, that he believed the movements of Sir Harford Jones would prevent his proceeding further than Bombay.

The most serious alarm, however, which my mind admits upon this point, is the possibility of an understanding between France and Russia connected with a scheme for the latter either aiding or acting as a principal in an attack upon our Eastern possessions. This, though very unlikely, is not impossible. Buonaparte can offer great temptations to Russia; and he is of a character likely to make any sacrifices and every effort to obtain so vast an object. The attempts of France against us in India must be full of hazard, unless they are gradual. The distance of the march, the little dependence which can be placed on the inhabitants of the countries through which her armies must pass, and their want of resources (particularly in provisions), are all great obstacles. But the empire of Russia is up to the point, and she is in possession of territory within five hundred miles of the Tigris, where it is navigable, and bordering upon the north-western parts of the kingdom of Persia. If such attempts should be made or threatened, there is not a moment to lose in taking every measure of preventive policy. Half means will lose India. The western side of India must be strengthened; one of our ablest officers must combine the military and civil powers at Bombay; and we must make ourselves strong in the Persian Gulf, that we may be able to support friends and punish enemies, and inspire those sentiments of hope and fear which must be felt by all the States in that quarter, before we can expect to establish any relations with them that will be really beneficial to our interests. If this change is made, I hope they will be able, by promises of still greater advancement, to prevail upon you to take temporary charge of Bombay; and in that event, though in no other, I should rejoice to be kept in the Gulf, as I should, in acting under you on so conspicuous an occasion, anticipate the attainment of every honor and distinction.

“ We have had a report of an expedition under Bergeret having left France with troops to be landed in the Persian Gulf. To this I attach no credit whatever. Troops so landed (even supposing them to reach their place of destination) could do nothing. They would be destitute of every means of success; and the Government of Persia (even if it were ripe for such a combination) has not efficiency or vigor to furnish them with resources they most require. The naval part of the expedition would inevitably fail. Bergeret, however able, would bend, as he had done before, to the

superior genius of his conqueror, Sir Edward Pellew, whose character I have lately had an opportunity of viewing very nearly, and whom I sincerely believe to be one of the first men we have. It has been stated that he is likely to go home soon, which I anxiously hope is not the case, for there is no calculating in such times the value of an able and high-spirited naval commander in India, whose zeal and patriotism lead him to despise all petty questions, and to look to nothing but the general interests of his country."*

In the first week of April, Malcolm reached Bombay. •Of his brief residence there there is not much to be recorded. It was on this occasion that he made the acquaintance of Sir James Mackintosh—an acquaintance which soon ripened into a lasting friendship. In the politics of Turkey and Persia the Recorder took a deep interest. Public and private considerations alike at that time invested them in his eyes with uncommon importance.† It pleased him, therefore, to converse with Malcolm on the subject, and to increase his stock of information from the prodigious stores which the Ambassador was delighted to unlock. Mackintosh saw in him a man of strong natural intelligence, and great literary enthusiasm, which wanted only opportunity to secure for him a forward place among the authors, as he had already obtained among the actors, of the day. But, even more than these clerkly attributes, the scholar admired the frank open character and the ardent temperament of the soldier. He saw in Malcolm a genuine man, whose heartiness and sincerity were wonderfully refreshing

* Bergeret, the French admiral, fought Pellew (afterwards Lord Exmouth) off the *Lizard* in 1796, and was compelled, after a gallant resistance, to strike his colors to the English frigate. He was taken prisoner; but subsequently released as a set-off to the escape of Sir Sydney Smith. Afterwards (in 1805) he was again captured, after another hard-fought ac-

tion in the Eastern seas, and carried to Calcutta. The vessel which he commanded on this occasion was the *Psyché*, which became a prize, and was destined to convey Malcolm from Bombay to Bushire. Admiral Bergeret is, I believe, still (1855) living.

† Sir James Mackintosh's son-in-law, Mr. Rich, was then Resident at Baghdad.

amidst so much exhaustion and inanity. Even the vehemence with which the Envoy denounced the conduct of the Home Government in despatching Sir Harford Jones to Persia, and criticised the character of that diplomatist, had a fine flavor about it which Mackintosh knew how to relish; and he soon became as much of a partisan—as much of a Malcolmite—as any member of the General's staff. It is worthy of mention, too, that in the ladies of the Recorder's family Malcolm secured good and true friends for his young wife, eager to extend, when most she needed it, sisterly kindness and womanly solace, in the trying situation in which she was about to be placed.

Here, too, Malcolm received his instructions,* and at the same time a long private letter from Lord Minto, in which the views of the Governor-General were confidentially communicated to him. It clearly exhibits what was then conceived to be the magnitude of the crisis, the great work that was entrusted to Malcolm, and the full faith which Government reposed in the vigor and the judgment of the workman:

LORD MINTO TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL MALCOLM.

March 9, 1808.— You will receive along with this a paper, which it was necessary to call instructions. I can only say that I should have sent them with more confidence if they had been drawn, as is often the case, by him to whom they are addressed. All I should desire, on the present occasion, is that you should carry to the scene of action the suggestions of your own judgment, experience, and public zeal. You may depend

* These instructions are thus generally stated by Malcolm in an official letter: "I was, under my original instructions, vested with general powers of control over all the British interests and concerns in Persia and Turkish Arabia; but though accredited as an envoy from your Lordship by specific credentials to both the King of Persia and Pacha of Baghdad, I imagined that

you had contemplated my proceeding to either of these Courts not only as an eventual, but as one of the collateral, not the primary objects of my mission, which were, I conceived, to discover and report for your information, at the earliest possible period, the real situation of affairs as connected with our European enemies in Persia and Eastern Turkey."

upon every sort and degree of support which my situation can furnish, and you may be assured that the importance of your commission and of every point in your proceedings cannot be felt more forcibly even by yourself on the spot than it will be by me. In my view of these transactions our opposition to France in Persia is the anchor on which our hopes must rest; for if we permit that country to be the depôt of her preparations against us, and wait at home till the enemy thinks himself that he is equal to the undertaking, we shall give him a great and, as it appears to me, a most manifest advantage. My first anxiety, therefore, will be to know from you whether the disposition of the Persian Court or the state of our country admit of our meeting the enemy on the very moment of his arrival or approach to the Persian frontier. I am aware that this system will require a very considerable force. I shall learn from you what its amount must be; and shall, in the mean while, make every effort which the state of our resources admits of to be prepared with an army and the means of transporting it. In the mean while, I have imagined that a force of 20,000 or 25,000 men may be necessary. This will be a great exertion, and I don't think that we can go further. I should be glad to find that less would be sufficient. This supposes, as you perceive, the march of a considerable body of French troops to Persia. If 10,000 are to come, I conceive that our force, which must consist of Sepoys in a great proportion, should be double. But on these points it is loss of time to speculate and conjecture at present, and I expect information and advice from you. It has also occurred to me that some measures of less magnitude on the part of France may render an expedition on a smaller scale advisable from India. If, instead of sending such an army as has been announced, they should begin by collecting gradually a small force capable of establishing a French post on the coast, and endeavour to take root there before the grand design is entered upon, I think it of the utmost moment to disappoint this preparatory measure, and to expel the enemy with the least possible delay. We shall be prepared to push off 4000 or 5000 men on the first summons. I own I have all along felt the possibility that it might have been expedient to accompany you with such a force, partly for emergencies such as I have described, or others that may be imagined, and more generally to give weight to your mission. But I have refrained from proposing this measure because it might

undoubtedly have excited jealousy in those countries, and have embarrassed instead of supporting you. That is one of the points, however, on which I shall look for your earliest advice.

I am so desirous, however, of strengthening your hands, and making suitable impression on the minds of those to whom you are going, that I incline extremely to any augmentation of your escort which you may yourself think prudent and advisable. It must not be so considerable as to lose the character of an escort; but it may be greater than is absolutely necessary for attendance on your person, so that part might, if necessary, be left at any station of the fleet. I have thought, also, that it might be desirable, on the same principle, to embark as many men, under the name of *Marines*, on board the King's ships and the Company's cruisers destined for the Gulf as can be accommodated on board. A force very superior to anything French actually in that country will thus be collected at little expense, and may very much retard, if they do not frustrate, the first projects of the enemy. I have mentioned these notions to Sir Edward Pellew, and shall, of course, explain myself fully and unreservedly on all points to Mr. Duncan; and whatever you three determine will be right.

Sir Harford Jones is, I confess, rather a *Marplot* (since I am writing confidentially) in our play. I have great confidence, however, in two of your qualities, and I hardly know which is most necessary on this occasion—I mean your conciliatory talents and your magnanimity. The first will, no doubt, find exercise in your intercourse with Sir Harford Jones, and the other will have full scope for exertion in dealing with yourself. But as to the latter point, I have no apprehension; for although I do cordially lament all the public embarrassment and all the personal discomforts which may reasonably be expected from this unlucky *coincidence*, I am sure that every sort of personal feeling will merge in the sense which you share with me of the great duties you have undertaken. I do not recollect or imagine any service that can be rendered to a country more signal than that which Great Britain will owe to you if this design against India is defeated in Persia.

There was good encouragement in this. Malcolm now felt assured that he would be well supported, and

that he enjoyed the boundless confidence of the Government. The suggestions, too, regarding the military force squared with his own wishes, and he had very soon shipped such a serviceable body of "Marines" as, in conjunction with his own escort, might, if need required, make an imposing display of force. Everything was soon ready for his departure. On the 15th of April he wrote to Lord Minto to report that he was on the eve of embarkation :

"The *Doris* frigate sailed for the Gulf yesterday, and the Honorable Company's ship *Wexford*, with my baggage, tents, and escort on board, will either accompany or follow the *Psyche* (on which I embark). On the arrival of this little fleet at Bushire, I shall be able to command, if required, the services of three hundred men of the 84th Regiment (serving as Marines), independent of my escort, which has been completed to one hundred cavalry and fifty Sepoys; and to this force will soon be added a detail of European artillery, with two six-pounders, that are to embark on board one of the line-of-battle ships which are meant by Sir Edward Pellew to proceed to the Gulf about the 15th of next month. This force (which has been formed in consistence with your Lordship's instructions) will, without having any appearance of a military expedition, enable me to defeat any small detachment which may be landed from the Mauritius—an event, however improbable, it appears prudent to guard against. It will also afford me the means of defending myself against any possible attack, and put it in my power, should circumstances require it, to give temporary aid and protection to any party that, in the event of affairs coming suddenly to an extremity, may adopt our cause. If accounts should be received at Bombay before the season has passed that any French or Russian force (that is, supposing we are at war with Russia) have actually approached or entered the territories of Persia, it will, no doubt, be advisable to hasten the embarkation for the Gulf of as many troops as can be spared for that service; but if no such intelligence arrives, it would not, I think, be wise to precipitate such a measure, or to embark more men than can go as Marines. Such cannot excite alarm."

In this letter Malcolm spoke also of the line of conduct which he intended to pursue after his arrival at Bushire:

"I mean," he said, "to withhold my mission to the Court of Persia till such concessions are made as I may conceive from the state of circumstances I have a right to demand; and my language, instead of solicitation, will be that of temperate remonstrance and offended friendship. To pursue a different course of conduct would, in the present crisis, I am assured, have the worst effect. It would strengthen the exaggerated idea which the Persian Court already entertain of their own greatness, and persuade them of our weakness and fears; and they would, under these impressions, continue, without being aware of the extent of the danger, to encourage both us and the French, and, attending only to the dictates of pride and avarice, would forget every maxim of sound policy, to a consideration of which they can only be roused by our adopting a line which will force them to the choice either of our friendship or that of the French; and, as far as I can judge, the sooner this question is brought to an issue the better."

On the 17th of April, Malcolm found himself again on board ship; again on his way to the Persian Gulf. He started with a heavy heart. There were pangs then new to him—the pangs of separation from a beloved wife. There were circumstances, too, which rendered it doubly painful; for he was about soon to be invested with a new relationship, the thought of which, whilst it filled him with delightful anticipations, at the same time dashed them with affectionate anxiety. But he braced himself up for the work before him with a brave heart and a resolute will. There was now a new stimulus to honorable exertion: his ambition was made of less stern stuff than before. The public servant yielded nothing to the lover and the husband; but the one condition refined and dignified the other. It has often been debated whether the domestic relations unfit men for the public

service. Little men perhaps they may; great men assuredly they do not. Hear what Malcolm wrote to his wife as he was voyaging down to the Gulf:

On board the "Psyche," at Sea, April, 1808.—I go with a heart full of many passions—but love is the predominant one. I can think of nothing but you. But I shall bring my mind to connect your happiness, which is the chief object of my life, with my success in the service of my country, and my exertions shall be a hundredfold in hope of being more worthy of the great blessing which Providence has decreed me.

I cannot explain my feelings on this voyage. Everything that good living, good accommodation, and good humor can do to make me happy is done and yet I feel—what I never did before—that I have left a home, and that in that magic word is concentrated all my happiness. Do not, however, think that these feelings will ever sink me into a state that will in any way unfit me for the public service. I feel a conscious pride that in possessing you, I possess the most powerful motive that man can have to honorable action. You will be both proud and happy to hear that I am the theme of others' praise; and you may tell your children that their father was never so animated or so rejoiced as when he had an opportunity of serving his country, and that when engaged in such a cause he could suffer even absence from you. I feel at the moment I write that I shall succeed in my efforts, and that I shall return to you crowned with success. May God hasten the moment!

On the 30th of April the *Psyche* was off Muscat, where, under Malcolm's instructions, she lay to for a few hours. The Imaum, whose acquaintance he had made eight years before, was dead—killed like a brave man in battle—and his son, of whom so much notice had been taken, was now ruling in his place. The promise of his youth, however, had not been fulfilled. But Malcolm was pleased to find that he was held in grateful remembrance by his old Arab friends. There is some-

thing very pleasant in the record of them to be found in his private journal:

“The young Imaum sent me a thousand civil messages with a quantity of fruit, and expressed great regret that I could not land, as he would, he said, have been delighted to see his father's friend, and one who had taken great notice of him as a boy. I had seen him about eight years ago, and given him the model of a 74-gun ship as a present. He was then about ten or eleven years of age, and gave promise of good temper and intelligence; but this promise has not, I understand, been fulfilled. The message from the Imaum was brought by one of his most confidential officers, Mahomed Gholam, a very old acquaintance of mine. He was, indeed, sent with me when on my former mission from Muscat to Abushire, as an agent of the Imaum's, and to aid us in the navigation of the Gulf. This Arab, who combines with the manners of his tribe the frankness of a sailor, expressed great joy at meeting his old friend. He shook Pasley most heartily by the hand, and inquired after Strachey and several of our former party. ‘You have been all over the world,’ says he to me, ‘since I last saw you.’ ‘I have travelled a little,’ I answered. ‘Travelled a little!’ he exclaimed, ‘you have done nothing else; we heard you were with the great Lord Wellesley at Calcutta. When there in a ship of the Imaum's, I went to see you: Malcolm Sahib was gone to Madras. Two years afterwards I went again to Bengal and thought I would find my friend: no, Malcolm Sahib was gone to Scindiah, and we heard afterwards you went with Lord Lake to Lahore. However, four months ago, we heard you had come to Seringapatam and married a fine young girl, the daughter of some Colonel. And now,’ says he, ‘after travelling all the world over, and then marrying, you are come again to your old friends the Arabs and Persians.’ I told my friend Mahomed Gholam I was quite flattered with the interest he appeared to have taken in my welfare, and rejoiced to see him in such health and spirits, and enjoying the favor of his Prince. I then reminded him of some former scenes, particularly one in which he had been much alarmed at the conduct of one of the gentlemen with me. He laughed, and said he was glad I recollected old times and old friends, and that I would find, as I

proceeded, that all those I had before seen perfectly remembered me. He then begged me to take some letters for him to Bushire, and began writing a postscript to one of them. I saw him smiling, and asked him to tell me (like an honest Arab) what he was writing, as I was sure it was about me. 'I will tell you without hesitation,' said he, 'for why need I be ashamed of the truth? I knew my friends would expect some account of you, and I could not give it till I saw you. I have informed them that this is exactly the same Malcolm we had before, the only difference is, that he was then a Captain, and is now a General.' I was not a little pleased with this compliment on my consistency of character from my Arab friend, who took his leave at eight o'clock at night, and we immediately weighed our anchor and stood for the Gulf."

On the 10th of May the *Psyche* reached Bushire. Malcolm's reception was all that he could desire. He wrote in good spirits to his wife of present appearances and future prospects:*

Bushire, May 17, 1808.—I can give no public news yet. I have been welcomed ashore in a manner the most flattering, and found letters from many old friends waiting my arrival, and among them some very high in power. The Governor of this place came six miles off to pay me a visit on board, and has, like all others, paid me great attention on shore. This is done by orders from Court, where I have reason to believe the accounts of my arrival have been received with great joy. Pasley, accompanied by Mr. Bruce and my moonshee, starts for Teheran on the day after tomorrow, with my letter to the King, and I expect that he will reach Teheran about the 20th of June; and I expect to know what my fate is likely to be about the 15th of July. How I pray God that I may be borne on a full tide of success to the accomplishment of the objects of my mission, and that I may return crowned with success to the arms where all my happiness centres!

* His private letters to his different official friends were written in the same hopeful language; but I make my extracts, where I can, from his family letters—because, although all

his undress communications have the same spontaneous truthful character, these have also the impress of the warm heart upon them, and exhibit both the husband and the man.

RESIDENCE AT BUSHIRE.

Bushire, June 6.—I have been living hitherto with Smith, but move into Camp to-morrow. We have pitched our tents on the sea-side, where it is as yet tolerably cool. I have erected a shed made from the branches of the date-tree, which will, they say, be cooler than either house or tent. Our party ashore is large and very pleasant. Smith is a first-rate fellow.* Captain Colet† is a plain, respectable character, with whom I become every day more pleased. Edgcomb‡ never changes. We have, in short, none in our society who are not agreeable. All are in good health, and likely to continue so, for we live moderately. Our amusements are telling stories, riding, and occasionally hunting.§ Charles Pusley is gone to Teheran on a mission, in which, if he succeeds, he will gain great credit. He is at Shiraz, and conducting himself admirably.

June 10.—I am over head and ears in Persian intrigues. It is an extraordinary scene, and it is impossible to tell what will be the result. But you shall never blush for your husband. He will come out of it with honor, if he should even fail of success.

And he *did* “fail of success.” He failed utterly—but honorably. How he purposed to proceed has been shown in his own emphatic language. He adhered to his resolution. But the French were too strong for him at the Persian Court. Persia was at this time writhing in the

* Mr. Hanky Smith, of the Company’s Civil Service, who was afterwards despatched as our envoy to Sindh. He was the son of Charlotte Smith, the poetess—a lady of some repute in her day.

† Captain of the *Doris*.

‡ Captain of the *Psyche*.

§ It is worthy of mention, too, that Malcolm paraded his “Marines” to the great wonder of the inhabitants. The record in his journal is amusing: “My escort was composed of fifty fine-looking fellows of the light infantry of the 84th Regiment, who excited the greatest astonishment in the Arabs and Persians. They were the first British soldiers that had ever been landed, and their appearance was

calculated to make the most favorable impression of our countrymen. ‘What amazing strong fellows these flesh-eaters are,’ said a poor Arab, who had never seen anything but dates and fish. ‘Look at their resemblance to each other; they must all have the same father and mother.’ ‘That cannot be,’ said another (equally struck with their uniformity of appearance), ‘for they must have been all born the same day.’ ‘They are proper shy-tans’ (devils), said an old woman, ‘I warrant them.’ These and a thousand remarks of the same description were made upon the soldiers, who, in their turn, were highly entertained by the curiosity and appearance of those they had so much astonished.”

iron grasp of the Muscovite usurper. The French Embassy were full of mighty promises. They deluded the Court of Teheran into the belief that it was only by the intercession of France that Russia could be induced to relax her grasp. A little while before they had told a different story. It had been their policy then to impress upon the minds of the Persians that the tide of Russian usurpation could only be effectually checked by a powerful enemy of the great Northern aggressor. But now that was to be done by friendly intercession which before was to have been done by force; and the Court of Teheran, for a while deluded by these plausible promises, clung to the French alliance as to their best hope of extrication from the toils that environed them. So our enemies were supreme at the Persian capital. Their diplomatists, their soldiers, their men of science were all energetically at work. Whilst we had been sleeping they had been striving. We had left the field of action clear for them, and they had occupied it with vigor and address.

Malcolm had not estimated aright the extent of this occupation. He had relied too much on the influence we had established eight years before at the Persian Court, and had not sufficiently taken into account the alteration of circumstance and feeling resulting from the progress of Russian arms in that momentous interval. The Persians believed that we had deserted them. We had, at all events, looked unconcernedly on, or purposely turned our backs upon them, whilst they had been spoliated by the Northern conqueror. What, they asked, had become of our alliance with them? What had we done for them? Who were we that we should now expect a single word from us to dissolve a promising alliance and to disperse a magnificent embassy, strong in all those external attributes best calculated to rivet the confidence of the Per-

sians in the military strength and national greatness of their energetic allies?

I have always thought, therefore, that Malcolm erred in assuming too dictatorial a tone at the outset, and precipitating a crisis which it would have been sounder policy to delay. But the error is one which we may well afford to respect. "You are a man of frank character and high spirit," wrote Sir James Mackintosh to him, on learning the course he had adopted, "accustomed to represent a successful and triumphant Government. You must, from nature and habit, be averse to temporise. But you have much too powerful an understanding to need to be told that to temporise is sometimes absolutely necessary, and that men of your character only can temporise with effect." The truth, however, is, that Malcolm believed there was only one course before him by which the dignity of the nation could be upheld. But that course, though in theory it had everything to recommend it, was, in practice, certain to fail of success.

Malcolm said afterwards that the language of dictation which he had used had nothing to do with the failure of the Mission. The Court of Teheran had determined upon their line of conduct before they knew in what manner the English Embassy was about to approach them. The French, with their large promises, had at this time possession of the courtier-mind of Persia, and the Persian Ministers were terrified at the thought of the approach of the British Mission marring all their prospects of assistance from the expected quarter. When, therefore, Captain Pasley reached Shiraz, his further progress towards the capital was peremptorily forbidden, and Malcolm himself was directed to communicate with the Provincial Viceroy. What Malcolm felt on receiving this intelligence, what he determined, and what

he did, will be best told in the words of his own private journal :

“ *Camp, 11th June.*—From the letters I received this day from Captain Pasley, at Shiraz, I was concerned to observe the Ministers there not only continued to throw obstacles in the way of his progress to Teheran, but declared they had orders from the King directing me to carry on my negotiations with the Prince-Regent of the province of Fars, and they had heard, without being moved from their purpose, all those reasons which Captain Pasley had in the most firm and spirited manner urged to satisfy them. I would never consent to an arrangement of so humiliating a nature towards myself and the Government I represented as one which allowed a French Embassy to remain in the Presence while it directed one from the English nation to treat with an inferior Government. I also learned that one or two parties of troops were likely to assemble at Bushire with an apparent design of watching my conduct, and to sum up the whole, the Sheikh of Bushire stopped the embarkation of three horses on board the *Wexford*, belonging to the captain and officers of that ship, on the ridiculous and insulting plea of the *Wexford* being on the point of sailing for Karrack,* and his having been particularly instructed to take care of that island.

“ These circumstances convinced me that nothing short of the adoption of some very strong measure would produce a change in the conduct of a Court which was evidently acting under the influence of our enemies, and it appeared particularly necessary that measure should be of a nature that would remove an impression which the French had endeavoured to produce in Persia, viz., that England had not an ally in the world, was reduced to the last stage of distress, and consequently was soliciting the friendship of the King of Persia from an inability to preserve without his aid its possessions in India. I determined, in consequence of these reflections, to strike my camp next morning and to go on board the *Doris*, and write to Captain Pasley to inform the Ministers of the Prince at Shiraz why I have done so, informing them that I never should re-land in Persia unless he was allowed

* A small island within thirty-three miles of Bushire.—J. M.

to proceed to Court, and I was assured of being treated with less suspicion and more friendship.

"*12th June.*—I carried the resolution I made yesterday into effect, to the utter consternation of the inhabitants of Bushire. The Sheikh (who I heard was ashamed of his conduct) had proceeded to the country to meet one of the chiefs, reported to be on his march to Bushire, but all the merchants and principal inhabitants came to my camp at six o'clock in the morning, and earnestly entreated me to stay a few days longer on shore, till answers to the letters they meant that day to write to Shiraz were received. When they found I was inflexible, one of the oldest and most respectable, Hajee Ismael, spoke for the rest in a manner at once affecting and elegant. 'We are ruined,' he said, 'and our children must be so also, by the policy that forces a man who is personally beloved by all ranks in Persia to embark in anger. The conduct of our Government to him will bring upon us the resentment of the nation he represents; the commerce of Persia will be destroyed, and our monarch and his wise Ministers, who think little of it at present, will only discover, by the loss of the principal part of the revenue of the country, the source from which it was derived.' This fine old man (he is upwards of eighty) spoke much more to the same effect. I am ashamed even to repeat to you the panegyrics with which he loaded me. He concluded a prayer for an alteration in the councils of his King in a voice choked with tears. The feelings of the rest were equally agitated with those of Hajee Ismael, to all whose observations they assented. Though I could not help commiserating these men, whose hopes of future prosperity all depend upon the result of this negotiation (as a rupture with England must destroy the commerce of Persia, and ruin them), I could not help being pleased with the strong emotions they testified, as I was satisfied they would write in the strongest manner to all quarters, and that their influence would be given in support of my wishes.

"I embarked in the evening, and was attended to the beach by all the gentlemen of my family, and my Persian servants, whose grave countenances gave this procession quite a solemn appearance. I had ordered them all to be discharged, and they went away cursing the French, the Sheikh of Bushire, the Prince at Shiraz, the King, and every person that they thought had, either in a remote or proximate degree, caused my departure."

On the same day he wrote also a hasty letter to his wife, in which he said:

“*July 12.*—I have determined to proceed to Fort William and sail for that place to-day. The resolution to pass Bombay, believe me, was not taken without pain; but my duty called for the sacrifice, and you will be pleased that I had virtue and firmness enough to make it. I hope to be at Calcutta about the 1st of September. I shall leave it for Bombay about the 1st of October, and arrive with my dearest Charlotte about the 10th of November. How long I stay there is a speculation; but, believe me, the present step is the only one I could take to enable me to do justice to the great interests committed to my charge. These, by the blessing of God, will yet prosper; and I shall have the credit, if the victory is won, of having not been sparing of exertion. A month with Lord Minto will do wonders.”

So Malcolm took ship for Calcutta, and as he sailed up the Persian Gulf solaced himself with the *Mysteries of Udolpho* and with aspiring thoughts of the day, when it would be permitted to him to float again, with a prosperous gale, on the Sinus Arabicus, and establish himself, under his country's ensign, as lord of a fortified island, and arbiter of the destinies of Persia and Arabia. It has been seen how anxious he was, on his first mission to the Persian Court, to obtain for the British Government a settlement on the island of Karrack. He had never ceased to think that our interests would be greatly advanced by the occupation of such a post, and he was now more than ever anxious to urge the measure upon the attention of Lord Minto and his colleagues. As he was now off the island on his way back to India, he paused there to take in water, and again cast a longing eye on the place. The following entries in his journal show how high a value he set upon the possession of the island, and how high a value the people of the Gulf set upon him:

“We sailed this morning for Karrack to get water for the voyage. As we were nearing the island I fell into conversation with a confidential servant of the Sheikh of Bushire, who had been sent to facilitate our getting water at Karrack. This poor fellow became quite eloquent at the idea of my going to India, which he had just heard. It foreboded, he said, ruin to his country. He then abused the King, the Prince, and his master the Sheikh, who was, he said, a weak young man, who was ruled by some vile Persian advisers. ‘He has now,’ said the Arab, ‘put the seal to his folly by disgusting you with his unworthy suspicions.’ He then launched out into a grand account of my last mission, which he graced, in the true Arab style, with personal anecdotes. Nothing could be more entertaining than for a man to listen to anecdotes of himself, particularly when these were partly true, partly accidental speeches and occurrences which had been framed into regular stories, and had reached in that shape the lowest classes. To give you a short specimen of the Arab’s conversation: ‘Do they keep a parcel of vile French rascals,’ said he, in a rage, ‘while they send away a man of whose wisdom and munificence children speak as well as fellows with white beards? Have they forgot what you did at Bushire, Shiraz, Ispahan, and Teheran? When Abdul Hamud, that half merchant, half minister, came to Bushire, deputed from Shiraz to find out by his wonderful penetration the objects of your mission, did you not closet him, make him swear secrecy, and then tell him that in the times of the Suffavee Kings the Persians had no beards, but the English had; that the latter had since lost that fine ornament to the face, and that as it was rumored the Persians had found it, you were deputed to try and recover your right? That Hamud said he became a laughing-stock all over Persia when the manner in which you treated him was made public. And at Shiraz, when that sly Persian Minister, Chiragh Aly Khan, asked you what your business was at Court, you replied that, if you told him, you should have nothing to say to his master, the King. At Ispahan,’ continued the Arab, ‘Mahomed Hussein Khan,* the Governor, who was the richest man in Persia, came to see you, and with a view of dazzling you, he wore a kubah, or upper garment, made of the celebrated zerball, or golden cloth,

* The present Prime Minister.—J. M.

which is only worked in one loom in Persia. He found you dressed quite plain ; but next day you went out a hunting, and it was reported to him that one of your favorite greyhounds was clothed in a cloth of the same stuff. The fellow,' said he, ' has worn a plain chintz jacket ever since he received this rebuke. When you went one day to see the King, he put on all his richest jewels to excite your wonder. You looked him in the face, and you looked at his sword ; but your eyes never once wandered to his fine diamonds. He was disappointed, and told Hadjee Ibrahim to ask you, as you retired, if you had not noticed them ? The Hadjee returned to the Presence and was silent. The King was angry, and said, " Repeat what Malcolm Sahib said." The Hadjee hesitated, till the King grew impatient. He then said, " Please your Majesty, when I asked Captain Malcolm what he thought of your diamonds, ' Nothing,' he said ; ' what use are diamonds except as ornaments for women ? I saw the King's face, Captain Malcolm told me, with pleasure ; it is the countenance of a man. And I admire his fine scymetar : steel is the lord of jewels.' " The King,' said the talkative Arab, ' though he was disappointed, could not help admiring such sentiments.'

" All the Arab's stories are pretty near the truth. The dog's fine jewelled cloth I recollect. It was made out of a dress of honor I had received, and put on to please my head huntsman, who used to lead this favorite greyhound himself ; but God knows it was not meant to ridicule the magnificence of the Governor of Ispahan, from whom I received a thousand civilities.

" *H.M. ship 'Doris,' near Karrack, 8th July.*— The more I contemplate this island, the more I am satisfied it might be made one of the most prosperous settlements in Asia, situated within a few hours' sail of Bushire, Bunder Begh, Bussorah, Græne, Baherin, and Catiff. It would, if under a just and powerful Government, be the common resort of the merchants of Turkey, Arabia, and Persia, and though too small (only twelve square miles) to support a number of inhabitants, it would, when it became an emporium of commerce, become a granary also, and want would be unknown. The chief recommendations of this island are its fine climate and excellent water. It has no harbor ; but a vessel has protection from the prevalent gales in the Gulf under either its south-east or north-west side, and they can shift their berth in the hardest gales without danger. I could not contemplate this

island without thinking it far from improbable that the English Government might be obliged, by the progress of its enemies in this quarter, to take possession of it, and my mind passed rapidly from that idea to the contemplation of myself as the chief instrument in the execution of this plan. I saw this almost desolate island filled with inhabitants, whose prosperity and happiness was my charge, and who repaid all my labors by their gratitude and attachment; but what most delighted me in this picture was the figure of Charlotte smiling graciously upon me from a window of one of the most stately castles that my fancy had erected on the shores of Karrack. More improbable dreams have been realised, and there can be no harm in indulging the imagination in the contemplation of a scheme which has its foundation in the most virtuous and justifiable ambition; which seeks not to destroy, but to establish; not to invade security, but to give repose; not to attack, but to defend; and instead of spreading the evils of war, wishes only to erect a bulwark to stop its ravages."

In one of the letters already quoted, alluding to the expected birth of his child, Malcolm emphatically exclaimed, "Good God, what a state of torturing suspense I am in! But I trust I shall soon be relieved from all my fears; and then my joy will be excessive." Not many days afterwards the long expected intelligence gladdened his heart. They met a vessel from Bombay at the mouth of the Gulf, and Malcolm received a parcel of letters. "How inadequate are words to express," he wrote afterwards from Point de Galle, "what I felt to hear of your safety and of the birth of a dear child, and how infinitely was my joy increased by the accounts you gave me of yourself and our little *Margaret*.* God bless you for

* In Malcolm's private journal there is a more detailed account of the circumstances attending the reception of this most interesting intelligence. There is something very appreciable in it: "Saw a vessel, and immediately bore down upon her. As we approached, she was discovered to be the *Benares*,

from Bombay. My anxiety became painful, and it was increased to a degree I cannot describe, when I saw the commanding officer of the *Benares* coming on board. I had retired to a corner of the cabin, and was in vain endeavouring to summon up more fortitude, when my friend Smith, who

giving her that name. It may not be so fine to the ear as some others, but it has, from its belonging to one of the best and most respected of women, a charm in it which will preserve our darling and make her all her parents could wish." He spoke of his beloved mother, still living at Burnfoot, after whom his first-born had been reverentially named.

In another letter, written about the same time, he speaks of his plans and prospects, saying :

"I shall be at Calcutta, I hope, within two weeks, and am prepared to submit a paper to Lord Minto which will put him in possession of every information I have regarding affairs in Persia, and my opinions regarding the measures we should adopt. If he approves of my sentiments, and thinks that he has power to carry the plan into immediate execution, I will make every sacrifice rather than shrink from my public duty at so important a crisis; but if his Lordship, from any cause, declines this course, I will extricate myself as early as I can from a scene in which I can neither obtain credit nor serve my country, and in such event I shall haste to join you and convey you to Mysore, where a residence of two years will enable me to go home with every comfort we can desire. . . . I am tired of wasting my life in exertions which, from the virulence of party in England, are unlikely either to be appreciated or rewarded."—[August 9—off *Point de Galle*.]

On the 22nd of August, Malcolm landed at Calcutta, and was received with the utmost cordiality by the Governor-General. "I have this moment reached Cal-

knew my state of mind, and had made his inquiries of the officer of the Marines the moment he came on board, came running, and taking my hand, congratulated me on the birth of a daughter, and your perfect recovery. I felt quite overcome by my feelings, and poured out with pious fervor, though in silence, my thanks to that merciful Being who had preserved you and your infant. I was hardly composed when Dr. Briggs, John Briggs,

and Mr. Blacker came on board with my packets. I tore open a letter from you, and you may suppose, my dearest Charlotte, the emotions with which I received your daily letters from the 21st of May to the 6th of June, upon which I could only exclaim, 'What a wife! what a mother!' May He who has preserved you through such a trial continue to pour down His choicest blessing upon your head."

cutta," he wrote to his wife on that day. "Lord Minto has received me with great kindness. His first inquiries were about you, whom he hoped, he said, to be allowed to call *Charlotte*. I live in his house, and though only an hour landed, have had a hundred inquiries and invitations. All this is pleasant, but it will not make me desire to stay one day—one moment—away from one whom I love every hour with more ardor."*

On the evening of the following day he went with Lord Minto to the Governor-General's country-seat at Barrackpore—a charming residence on the banks of the Hooghly—a change in which he said he greatly delighted. In the personal character of Lord Minto he saw much to admire and to love. It would be an injustice both to Malcolm and to the Governor-General to withhold the following sketch of the amiable nobleman which the former sent to his wife, a few days after his arrival in Calcutta:

"What I have seen of Lord Minto as a public man has impressed me with a very high opinion of his ability. Under a shade of modesty he has a mind stored with honorable sentiments and useful knowledge; and though he may be deficient in that

* In another letter, written on the following day, he writes more fully on the same subject: "When near Calcutta I met the Governor-General's boat, which was sent to bring me to town, and received no less than three notes from John Elliot, expressing his father's anxiety that I should make the Government House my home. When near the landing-place, Elliot himself came to meet me, and carried me to Lord Minto, by whom I was received in a most affable and condescending manner. . . . On entering upon public business, I immediately discovered that it was my good angel that made me resolve to visit Calcutta, and that the consequence of that step was, that instead of being kept up the Gulf

under circumstances of a distressing nature to my feelings, I had been able to clear fully to the satisfaction of Government every point on which they had misunderstood my first proceedings, and that I was not only likely to meet with the fullest approbation, but to be solicited to return upon my own terms. All this Lord Minto gave me reason to conclude would be the case. I can perceive that I am a favorite, and I shall be glad if the prepossession he shows regarding my character enable me to forward the public service. I met my friends Colebrooke and Lumsden, the two councillors, who appeared (particularly the former) overjoyed to see me, as was my excellent friend John Adam."—[August 22.]

energy of character which imparts enthusiasm to others, he will prove himself, I am convinced, equal to any crisis that may occur. And it is the advantage of a character like this, which hardly excites expectation, that he will rise, in the precise ratio that he is known, in the estimation of the public. With regard to Lord Minto's private character it is truly amiable and virtuous. It has been an equal subject of astonishment and delight to me to find a man whose life has been passed in all the bustle of public affairs cherishing local attachments with all the enthusiasm of a country gentleman, and resting his happiness upon the truest and best basis—natural ties—and consequently finding in the constantly increasing affection of his family that which gives success its highest zest, and brings comfort under every reverse of fortune. To give you an example: I had been tempted, by his extraordinary kindness and the interest which he took in you, to show him my lines written on the 4th of July,* with which he was much pleased. 'You are,' said he, 'what I term a young man; and it may be of use to you to know, from one who is more than twenty years older, that you have attained, and are in the right road to preserve, the highest happiness of this life. Cherish such feelings; and as one charm of your wife decays, you will see another not less attractive succeed. Your union will be closer, and you will be bound by a thousand ties of which you are yet ignorant. At least this has been my case; and as I see you can feel, I give you a short address which I wrote yesterday to my wife, who is between fifty and sixty; and however deficient it may be in poetry, you will discover in it that which cannot be feigned.' "

After a day or two he was again in Calcutta, complaining of the bustle and the constant necessity of receiving and paying visits.† "I have had several more

* These were some decasyllables written to his wife on the first anniversary of their wedding day.

† The following anecdote, illustrative of this visit-paying, is worthy of quotation on more accounts than one. It relates to a visit to Sir W. B——, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court: "When I went to his house three days ago with Mr. Colebrooke, to

see the Judge and young Wellesley, who lives with him, he said on my entrance, with a mixture of jocularity and greatness, 'I rather imagine, General, that I must place the honor of this visit to Mr. Wellesley more than to myself.' 'Why,' said I, 'since you have mentioned the subject, I will honestly state that, if you had lived in different houses, I would have gone

long discussions with Lord Minto," he wrote on the 24th, "and all satisfactory. The measures I recommend will, I conclude, be adopted; and though I may suffer another short absence, I shall have the satisfaction of having done my public duty, and of having vindicated my own judgment and the interests of the country." "I am quite overwhelmed," he added, "with Lord Minto's kindness. All people here seem to struggle who shall show me greatest kindness. These marks of general esteem are pleasing, but they would be a thousand times more so if you were here to share them." On the 30th he wrote: "The resolution was taken in yesterday's council to stop Sir Harford Jones and send me again to the Gulf; and to adopt all my suggestions. In spite of the short absence from you which this threatens, I should be dead to all feeling for my character and my country if I did not rejoice at this event; and you will, I am sure, join in the feeling." "I shall set about my preparations actively to-morrow," he wrote again to his wife, "and hope to be able to leave this by the 20th. Good God, how my heart will beat when I see the lighthouse at Bombay!"

It was with no common delight that at this time Malcolm received a batch of letters from home, written, for the most part, in answer to those which had announced to his relatives and friends the great act of his marriage. They were all that he had hoped, all that he could have desired—full of the kindest wishes and most cordial congratulations. How exultingly he wrote of them to his wife:

"If a fellow had written a novel, and had puzzled his brain for

first to see the son of Lord Wellesley, but I should afterwards have paid my respects to his Majesty's Judge. 'Come, come,' said he, 'you might have said your friend Sir W. B——.'

I assented to this improvement in the expression, and we had a hearty laugh. Colebrooke said he rather imagined the little Judge would ask me no more foolish questions."

a twelvemonth to make his hero happy in the last chapter, he could not have been happier than I was yesterday to hear such accounts of you and Margaret—to receive such letters from my relations, so full of joy and affection—to find that they all, without one exception, met you with that warm welcome of the heart which is beyond all welcomes valuable. . . . What a woman is my dear mother! The nearest wish to my heart is that she should live to embrace you, and to clasp her grandchild, little Margaret, to her heart. John would look on, satisfied with being third on the list for a maternal embrace. With what joy do I look forward to that happy day! But when will it come? I am now more deeply involved than ever in public affairs—more honorably because more largely. Never was more trust conferred on an individual.”

Among other letters of congratulation which Malcolm received at this time, was the following from Sir Arthur Wellesley, in whose continued friendship he greatly rejoiced :

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY TO COLONEL MALCOLM.

London, February 25, 1808.

MY DEAR MALCOLM,—I beg leave to congratulate you on your marriage, and to assure you that I rejoice most sincerely on an event which is so likely to contribute to your happiness. I beg that you will present my best respects to Mrs. Malcolm, to whom I hope that you will introduce me at the first convenient moment. My time has been so much occupied by my official and other duties, that I have really not had a moment which I could devote to my friends in India. I assure you, however, that I have not forgotten them or their kindness to me, the continued marks of which is the most pleasing circumstance of my life. I am employed in this country much in the same way that I was in India—that is to say, in everything; but there are circumstances in this country which render all employment unpleasant, and make it difficult to perform those services to the public in which every good man must be desirous to have a share.

Lord Wellesley has got the better of the impressions which the

base attacks which have been made upon him had made upon his mind. He has lately made a most distinguished speech in the House of Lords,* and I have no doubt will come forward frequently in the same way. I hope that we shall be able to bring the House of Commons to a vote on the Oude case in the course of next week; not that I think that it signifies essentially whether we do or not, as time has had its usual effect upon the sense or folly of the public, and has convinced them that the man they have been in the habit of abusing was the best governor for India. It is desirable, however, to come to a vote upon this question, as several of Lord Wellesley's Indian friends are anxious about it, as well as others, who have more respect than I have for what passes in Parliament. Lord William† is arrived, and appeared inclined to bring himself before the House of Commons; a plan from which I advised him to desist, and rather to pocket all his grievances and affronts than to expose himself to an attack for years, to defend himself from which would occupy his whole time, and expose him to frequent mortifications.

I shall recommend the same line of conduct to my friend Cradock, who I find, from a letter received from him, is likewise disposed to bring himself before the House of Commons. I think the state of India is uncomfortable. I don't like the continued want of confidence between the officers and soldiers of the army of Fort St. George; still less do I like the proceedings of the French in Persia. I am convinced that they would have been of no avail if the Government had sent you to Persia, as I recommended long ago. However, it cannot now be helped. The state of affairs in Persia creates great anxiety here, but it is of that nature which you have occasionally witnessed in timid or undecided men, who fear something, they know not what, and are more afraid of the remedy than they are of the danger to which they are exposed. Pray remember me most kindly to Wilkes, to Close, Barclay, Simmons, Freere and Mrs. Freere, and Pourneah, and all friends at Seringapatam.

Believe me, ever yours most affectionately,

A. W.

* I conclude that the reference is to Lord Wellesley's speech on the 8th of February, 1808, in defence of the Copenhagen expedition.

† Lord William Bentinck, who had been removed from the Governorship of Madras.

But whilst Malcolm's inner life was made all sunshine by the affectionate letters of his friends; whilst his heart was full of the kindly and grateful feelings they engendered, his brain was busy with schemes for the counteraction of French intrigue in Persia, and the re-establishment of British influence in that country.* He never more exerted himself in that large unstinting manner which characterised his labors in the public service than during this visit to Calcutta. He had mapped out, upon his voyage up the Bay of Bengal, a plan of operations which he believed in all sincerity would place us in a position from which we might, without fear of failure, baffle the craft and the malice of our enemies. And he had urged this project upon Lord Minto, supporting it with an array of arguments which it was impossible to resist. It was, indeed, in its main outline, the revival of an old and long-cherished design. If, he said, we could but establish ourselves on the island of Karrack, in the Persian Gulf, all else that we desired would follow in due course.

But the execution and elaboration of this design was now to be accomplished; and Malcolm was day after day busily occupied in the congenial work of arranging and organising the details of the military establishment, which was to garrison the island, under his command, and threaten all the enemies of Great Britain in Persia, Arabia, and Eastern Turkey. He took counsel with all the most experienced men in Calcutta. He sought assistance and advice wherever they were to be found. All his suggestions were not adopted by Lord Minto and his colleagues. But after due abatement, necessitated by

* I believe that in this passage I have used the correct diplomatic phraseology. *Intrigue* and *influence* are convertible terms representing the same thing—the former being, however, always applied to the diplomacy of our enemies, and the latter to our own.

the greater caution of the responsible authorities, enough still remained to fill Malcolm with extreme satisfaction, when he contemplated the prospect before him. His love ministered to his ambition; his ambition to his love. He saw in the distance, as he wrote playfully, a lordly castle, himself lord of the isle, and his lady-love looking out of a window and smiling approval upon his acts.

About the expediency of this proposed settlement upon the island of Karrack different opinions have been entertained. Malcolm, as I have said, had a formidable array of arguments in support of the project, which it would be unjust to exclude from this chapter:

Firstly. That in the event of an attempt to invade India being made by an European State, it was impossible to place any dependence on the efforts of the King of Persia or the Pacha of Baghdad, unless we possessed the immediate power of punishing their hostility and treachery.

Secondly. That the States of Persia, Eastern Turkey, and Arabia, were, from their actual condition, to be considered less in the light of regular Governments than as countries full of combustible materials, which any nation whose interests it promoted might throw into a flame.

Thirdly. That though the French and Russians might, no doubt, in their advance, easily conquer those States, in the event of their opposing their progress, it was their obvious policy to avoid any contest with the inhabitants of the country through which they passed, as such must, in its progress, inevitably diminish the resources of those countries, and thereby increase the difficulty of supporting their armies—which difficulty formed the chief, if not the sole, obstacle to their advance.

Fourthly. That though it was not to be conceived that the King of Persia or Pacha of Baghdad would willingly allow any European army to pass through his country, but there was every ground to expect that the fear of a greater evil was likely not only to make these rulers observe a neutrality, but to dispose them to aid the execution of a plan which they could not resist,

and make them desire to indemnify themselves for submission to a power they dreaded, by agreeing to share in the plunder of weaker States—a line of policy to which it was too obvious they would be united, and to which their fear, weakness, and avarice made it probable that they would accede.

Fifthly. That under a contemplation of such occurrences, it appeared of ultimate importance that the English Government should instantly possess itself of means to throw those States that favored the approach of its enemies into complete confusion and destruction, in order that it might, by diminishing their resources, increase the principal natural obstacle that opposed the advance of an European army, and this system, when that Government had once established a firm footing and a position situated on the confines of Persia and Turkey, it could easily pursue, with a very moderate force, and without any great risk or expenditure.

Sixthly. That with an established footing in the Gulf of Persia, which must soon become the emporium of our commerce, the seat of our political negotiations, and a depôt for our military stores, we should be able to establish a local influence and strength that would not only exclude other European nations from that quarter, but enable us to carry on negotiations and military operations with honor and security to any extent we desired, whereas, without it, we must continue at the mercy of the fluctuating policy of unsteady, impotent, and faithless Courts, adopting expensive and useless measures of defence at every uncertain alarm, and being ultimately obliged either to abandon the scene altogether, or, when danger actually came, to incur the most desperate hazard of complete failure by sending a military expedition which must trust for its subsistence and safety to States who were known, not only from the individual character of their rulers, but from their actual condition and character, to be undeserving of a moment's confidence.

Seventhly. That there was great danger in any delay, as the plan recommended could only be expected to be beneficial if adopted when there was a time to mature it and to organise all our means of defence before the enemy were too far advanced; otherwise that momentary irritation which must be excited by its adoption would only add to the many other advantages which our want of foresight and attention to our interests in that quarter had already given to our enemies.

These arguments, it has been said, convinced Lord Minto and his colleagues; and Malcolm was authorised to carry into execution his design for the occupation of the island of Karrack by a military force completely organised in all its several departments, and effectively equipped. The authority was but little in advance of the execution. Malcolm's preparations were soon completed. His paper-army was in his portfolio; his plans and estimates were cut and dried; his staff was already selected. The mere flesh-and-blood of his force was to be picked up at Bombay, but all else was matured at Calcutta. He himself was in high spirits. He was to have the supreme military and political authority in the Gulf; and he started with the assured belief that he enjoyed the unlimited confidence of the Supreme Government. "The nature," he wrote, "of my duties was well characterised by Lord Minto in a remark he made to me the day I left Bengal. After dwelling upon probable occurrences and the conduct I should pursue, he concluded by saying, 'Your duties, General Malcolm, are, however, not to be defined. All I can say is, you are placed in a situation where you are as likely to go wrong from prudence as from the want of it.'"

In another letter, written at this time, he spoke more fully upon the same subject, and dwelt upon the feelings of hopeful ambition with which he started upon this important mission :

"You know," he wrote, "how full of doubt my mind was with regard to the view which Lord Minto would take of affairs in Persia. These have all been dispelled, and I depart on a second mission to that country, armed with all the powers, military and political, that I could desire, and honored by a confidence which appears unbounded. I depart, in short, with every motive to action that private and public feeling can produce; and even my Charlotte only shares my breast at this moment with my country."

But love for you and ardor in the glorious cause in which I am engaged are not discordant passions. They are in such complete unison that I should not be worthy of the blessings I enjoy from the one if I were not devoted to the other. What individual of my rank in life was ever called to act in so great a scene ! The field to which I go may prove fallow, but it may produce a glorious harvest, and make me the envy of the proudest man this day in England. To have a share, however trifling, in the present great contest, and one in which it is possible individual exertions may be recognised as contributing to the success of his country, is a thought that must elevate any man's mind who has an atom of patriotism in his frame. I am, I confess, all flame at the idea that this good fortune is mine ; and, if opportunities offer, neither you nor your children, my dearest wife, shall ever blush for my conduct."

With these high hopes and aspirations, Malcolm embarked at the beginning of October for Bombay. In the solitude of his cabin, as the *Fox** frigate worked its way down the river, he began to review all the circumstances of his mission and the contingencies with which he might be called upon to grapple. New possibilities, arising out of the great European struggle, suggested themselves to his mind, and new references to the Supreme Government were hurried off by every dawk-boat to Calcutta. But the communications between the frigate and Government House were not all despatched from the former. Whilst Malcolm was exulting in the thought of the great work before him, an express-boat came alongside the *Fox* at Kedgerree, and a letter was brought to him from the Governor-General. All his grand hopes were shivered at a blow. He was recalled to Calcutta.

It was with great perturbation of spirit that he read Lord Minto's letter :

* The *Fox* had formerly been commanded by Pulteney Malcolm. It was now commanded by Captain Cochrane.

LORD MINTO TO BRIGADIER MALCOLM.

• (*Confidential.*)

Barrackpore, Sept. 30, 1808.

MY DEAR SIR,—I think it likely that the intelligence which my son sent you last night, the instant it arrived, of Sir Harford Jones's determination to go to Persia, and of his expectation to sail on Sunday, the 11th of September, may induce you to return to Calcutta, if it were but for an hour. However, as Captain Cochrane may object to any delay, I send you my first thoughts on this event, which seems to disconcert all our late plans. I have no hope of his receiving the letter which was despatched after your arrival to prevent the possibility of his taking this step, as he will be anxious to avoid any such instructions. Sir H. Jones may not be received even at Bushire, or he may be detained there until orders are received from Court. If his mission is rejected in its first stage, no great delay will happen, and the measures we had settled may proceed.

But I confess I rather expect that he will make his way good to Shiraz. There will be an anxious desire there to make that place the seat of an English negotiation; and the King will see in that measure a reprieve from the apprehensions you left on his mind. If this happens, a considerable delay, the extent of which it is difficult to foresee, must take place. Sir Harford can obtain nothing, we know, but a negotiation may with great ease be spun out to any length—possibly, till events themselves negotiate for him, or till the invading armies are in possession of the country. I cannot tell at what period the transactions he will report to me will enable me to interpose; and if he goes to Shiraz, or negotiate at Bushire, it appears to me that time *must* be allowed to him.

In this interval, Karrack must be *necessarily* suspended. We cannot commit hostilities on Persia while the King of England is negotiating with the King of Persia.

It appears to me that you should now go to Bussorah, and apply yourself actively to that branch of our affairs. You will be at hand to resume the Persian plans when events admit of it. You will have to withdraw Captain Pasley and all your establishment from Bushire. There should be no possibility of *jostling* between anything that is yours and Sir Harford Jones's—I mean, no possibility of its being suspected or imputed by him. Mr. Smith

should resume his station. You should reserve no more of your own establishment than is really wanted for the business of Bagdad, &c., and you should keep only a becoming escort for your person, unless the troops now in the Gulf can be received without jealousy at Bussorah. All that you do not want will return to India, unless Sir Harford Jones should require an escort or guard of honor, which he declines, however, at present, intending to desire one from the King of Persia, when things are ripe for such a request.

The sooner you are at Bombay the better, as events seem to shift very fast. Instructions will meet you there, adapted to all cases; and I should wish to know your own sentiments on the whole matter.

Sir Harford Jones will probably be at Shiraz before anything from hence can reach him; but I doubt very much the power of controlling him from Bengal, although I certainly possess the right to do so, and shall assert it.

Believe me ever, my dear Sir,

Most truly and affectionately yours,

MINTO.

There was no time to be lost; so Malcolm ordered his baggage to be transferred to another vessel, and prepared at once to return to Calcutta. He was deeply disappointed; and it must not be denied that some feelings of anger and bitterness were mingled with his disappointment. Why had Sir Harford Jones sailed for the Persian Gulf? Why had he not waited to learn the results of Malcolm's visit to Calcutta? All the circumstances of the case were now recalled and considered as the Brigadier-General took boat for Calcutta — Prevented, by the state of European politics, from carrying out the original design of proceeding to Persia through the Russian territory, Sir Harford Jones had made his way to Bombay, and arrived there shortly after Malcolm's departure for the Gulf. It is not strange that he should have felt greatly perplexed and embarrassed. He came with a commis-

sion from the King of England; he was the representative of the Court of St. James; and Malcolm was the last person to have questioned for a moment the duty of such an ambassador to carry out the instructions he had received, according to the best of his ability. He may have been, and I believe he was, the wrong man in the right place. But, right or wrong, there he was at Bombay with credentials from the Crown; but restrained from proceeding on his mission by the knowledge that Malcolm had started before him with credentials from the Governor-General. The embarrassment which had arisen was compelled by the force of circumstances. I do not see that any one was blameworthy; but assuredly it may be said, up to this point, of Sir Harford Jones, that if there *were* any blame, he was more "sinned against than sinning."

The arrival of the Crown Ambassador at Bombay created some sensation in the settlement. People asked each other "What next?"—and Jones was as little able to answer the question as any one else. Perhaps, in the perplexity which had arisen, he did the best thing he could—he consulted Sir James Mackintosh. Now Mackintosh, with all respect for the Crown, which he himself judicially represented, was thoroughly a Malcolmite. He well knew what were the zeal, the energy, and the ability of the great military diplomatist, and believed that he, and he only, as the representative of British interests in Persia, would be the right man in the right place. What he wrote to Malcolm on the subject is too amusing, too characteristic of Mackintosh himself, and too descriptive of the state of things at Bombay, for me to withhold:

" Lord Minto, unfortunately, thought that the King and the Directors had taken Persia out of his hands, and that nothing remained in his power to give you but the control of mili-

tary preparations and political negotiations in the Persian Gulf, and in all the neighbouring states except Persia. Several of your friends have thought that you would regret this curtailed office: I thought otherwise. I thought that you would do all the good which you could do, though you could no longer do what you have done. I do not conceive that I was less jealous of your true dignity than those who thought otherwise, and I rejoice that Colonel Close (whom I apprised of the whole progress of the affair) perfectly agreed with me. No man can doubt either the superiority of his judgment, or the warmth of his friendship for you. But we were most happily delivered from these perplexities from a quarter most unexpected by me. Two forenoons after the arrival of the despatches, as I lay slumbering on the sofa in my library (a situation into which I had been betrayed by one of Mr. Quarto Cox's volumes of Austrian history), I was awakened by the entrance of Sir H. Jones. After a few preliminary words, he told me that the object of his visit was to consult me on his conduct; that he had three ways before him; to go immediately, not to go at all, or to delay going to September;—that the first might occasion divisions injurious to the public service, and must retard instead of expediting the business of the mission, because it would interrupt the measures which you must have taken before he could arrive, and a recommencement of everything; that the second was impossible without positive disobedience to the King's orders; and that the third seemed to him the best mode of promoting the two grand objects of harmony and expedition, as by such a delay he would show a respect for your feelings, and leave you full time to conclude your negotiations;—his arrival at Bushire being on that plan not likely before the middle of October, and at Teheran not probably before December or even January. If all things proceeded prosperously, he could then put the seal to your agreements, and remain himself as Resident Minister in that capital. You will easily believe that I commended his moderation, his absence of eagerness to display personal importance, his sacrifice of personal feelings to public advantage, &c., &c., &c. I said all that it was natural to say on such an occasion, and with as much warmth as could be shown without too strongly implying that his not undertaking the mission was a public benefit. I endeavoured to confirm his good inclinations, and I flatter myself that he left

me at least more determined not to disturb you. . . . During the whole of this affair, I have felt all the passions of a partisan as warmly as in the first Westminster election that interested my boyish zeal. As I am the most experienced demagogue here, I have given out the tone to the numerous faction of the Malcolmites to be loud in their commendation of our Envoy's forbearance. In general, I do not recommend a rigorous inquisition into the motives of useful actions; and here there is certainly an absence of conceit, presumption, and turbulence, which is a very proper subject of commendation. Vice may, to be sure, be as often checked by opposite vice as controlled by virtue; but it is politically sufficient that it should by any means be excluded."

So Sir Harford Jones tarried at Bombay, awaiting instructions from the Governor-General, whilst Malcolm, in the Persian Gulf, was trying the temper of the Court of Teheran. If when those instructions* arrived, Jones was still embarrassed and perplexed, there is nothing strange in such a result. He, however, continued to remain at Bombay until he heard of Malcolm's departure from the Gulf. His opportunity of action then seemed to have arrived. Lord Minto thought so too; and on the 12th of August wrote to Sir Harford Jones a letter loosing him from the diplomatic quarantine in which he had so long been placed—setting him free to do the best he could among the intractable Persians. So as a proof of his zeal he put himself at once on board ship, and steered for the Persian Gulf.

On the 12th of August, I have said, this letter was written. On the 20th, Malcolm reached Calcutta. On the 22nd, Lord Minto wrote to Sir Harford Jones desiring him not to leave Bombay. But before that letter reached its destination, Jones had put out to sea. It was the intelligence of this fact, received after Malcolm's departure, which now induced Lord Minto to recall him.

* *Lord Minto to Sir Harford Jones; April 21, 1808.*

Rightly or wrongly, Malcolm believed that the Baronet had made all haste from Bombay in hourly expectation of the arrival of the letter of recall. It was this consideration that so chafed him. It was this that brought him back to Calcutta, mortified and indignant—but only for a while. He found the Governor-General as much annoyed as himself :

“After proceeding to Kedgerree,” wrote Malcolm on the 7th of October, “I have been recalled, and am again in Calcutta to consult about the proceedings of Sir Harford, who, I find, escaped one day before the letter of the 22nd, which ordered him to remain at Bombay, reached that place. I have transhipped my luggage from the *For* to the *Cornwallis*, and shall sail for Bombay direct by the 16th or 17th of this month, so that I shall be sooner with you than I could by any other arrangement. I cannot tell you the agitation of my mind on this occasion.* I have had the cup dashed from my lips, and plans which promised to make me the fortunate instrument of my country’s success, are now delayed, if not altogether defeated. I cannot tell you Lord Minto’s distress. Government seems more anxious than ever that I should not retire from the scene, and their conduct has been such that I must not shrink from any task they inflict.”

It did not take long to determine the course that was to be pursued. There was little debate, indeed, for Lord Minto, his colleagues,* and Malcolm, were all agreed upon the subject. They would not consent to be ignominiously beaten by a mere accident. They resolved to address more stringent letters than before to Sir Harford Jones, and if he did not then retire from the scene, to repudiate all his proceedings. Meanwhile, Malcolm was to take ship for Bombay; to muster his force; to prepare his equipments, and to make all things ready for his descent on the island, from which he was to menace

* Mr. Lumsden and Mr. Colebrooke.

Persia, Arabia, and the Porte, and baffle the designs of Napoleon and the Czar.

His ambition thus rekindled, his spirits soon rose; and if it had not been for the loss of his wife's correspondence, which in expectation of his departure from Calcutta had necessarily ceased, he would have regained his accustomed equanimity. This tried his patience severely; but as the time for his departure approached, he wrote more and more cheerfully:

Calcutta, October 10.—Another change! The *Cornwallis* is ordered to Madras; future destination not explained, and the *Chiffonne* is directed to carry me to Bombay. I suppose I shall get away about the 20th or 25th, and thus I am doomed to pass fifteen more days in this vile place without the only consolation I can have in absence—my Charlotte's letters, which are all gone to Madras.

Government House, October 11.— . . . Your acquaintance, Mrs. W——, happened not to have been introduced to Lord Minto when she dined here, and mistaking him for another, she said, "Do you know the cause of General Malcolm's return to Calcutta?" "I believe I can guess," was the Lord's reply. "Pray, then, tell me," said the lady. Lord Minto hesitated till after we were seated at table, and then said, "We had better give the General plenty of wine, and we shall get this secret out of him." The lady, who had now discovered his rank, began to make apologies. "I assure you, my Lord," she said, "I did not know you." "I am delighted at that compliment," he replied. "Not to be known as Governor-General in private society is my ambition. I suppose," he added, laughing, "you thought I looked too young and too much of a puppy for that old grave fellow Lord Minto, whom you had heard people talking about." I mention this anecdote as very characteristic of that playful pleasantry which makes Lord Minto so agreeable to those with whom he associates. I am going to Barrackpore for three or four days, and am rejoiced at the prospect of a little quiet.

Barrackpore, October 13.— . . . I have been employed these last three hours with John Elliot and other boys in trying how

long we could keep up two cricket-balls. Lord Minto caught us. He says he must send me on a mission to some *very young* monarch, for that I never shall have the gravity of an ambassador for a prince turned of twelve. He, however, added the well-known and admirable story of Henry IV. of France, who, when caught on all fours carrying one of his children by the Spanish envoy, looked up and said, "Is your Excellency married?" "I am, and have a family," was the reply. "Well, then," said the monarch, "I am satisfied, and shall take another turn round the room;" and off he galloped, with his little son, flogging and spurring him, on his back. I have sometimes thought of breaking myself of what are termed boyish habits; but reflection has satisfied me that it would be very foolish, and that I should esteem it a blessing that I can find amusement in everything, from tossing a cricket-ball to negotiating a treaty with the Emperor of China. Men who give themselves entirely to business and despise (which is their term) trifles, are very able in their general conception of the great outlines of a plan, but they feel a want of that knowledge which is only to be gained by mixing with all classes in the world, when they come to those lesser points upon which its successful execution may depend. Of this I am certain; besides, all habits which give a man light, elastic spirits, are good.

After another day or two at Barrackpore—the picturesque beauty and refreshing quietude of which he contrasted strongly in his letters with the continued excitement and painful glare of Calcutta—Malcolm returned to the Presidency to complete his arrangements for departure. The gaities of the cold season were commencing, and he complained much of the necessity of attending a round of dinner-parties and balls. His criticisms upon Calcutta society—especially the *burra-beebies*, or great ladies of the settlement—were not very favorable; but a man in love with a young wife is hardly a fair judge of other women. The last week, however, was struggled through, and on the 26th of October Malcolm found himself on board the *Chiffonne*, bound for

Bombay. Of the commander, Captain Wainwright, and of his officers, he wrote in high terms; and he was well pleased with the arrangements which had been made for his comfortable entertainment during the voyage. But nothing delighted him so much as the society of a fine boy of ten years—the captain's son—who soon discovered Malcolm's wonderful fund of anecdote, and was continually asking the General to "tell him a story." That Malcolm told him some good ones—principally of an Oriental complexion, picked up, perhaps, in Persia—his journal abundantly testifies. But I am not sure that Johnny Wainwright was not the hero of as good an one as any of which he was the recipient.*

The voyage, however, was devoted in part to graver pursuits than these. Malcolm was a man who could never be idle, even as the world estimates idleness. He was not one who thought even a great statesman or a great monarch idle, when employed on that work which

—benign affections cultivates
Among the inferior kinds ;†

* "Captain Wainwright had been a little angry with Johnny for falling into Indian fashions, and employing servants to help him in dressing himself, to bring his hat, &c. A scheme was contrived to cure him of this disposition of being a *Nabob*, which was put in execution with great success this morning. At five o'clock all the servants of Captain Wainwright, and those belonging to Smith, Ellis, and me, were assembled at the cabin door. They were about twelve in number, and belonged to the four quarters of the globe. Europeans, Americans, Asiatics, and Africans rushed in at once upon the astonished Johnny, whom they surrounded. They first paid him their profound respects, and hoped his Excellency the Nabob had

had a good night's rest, and wished him long life, wealth, and happiness. He endeavoured to escape, but they insisted upon dressing him. One held his trousers, another his shoes, another a basin of water, another a tooth-brush, while a tall Indian fanned him. Thus, in spite of his struggles, they began to put his clothes on, and he was not allowed to get out of their hands till completely oppressed by their attentions. Though much annoyed, the little fellow preserved great temper throughout this experiment; and he told me privately, after it was over, he understood its meaning, but would show hereafter he wanted nobody's help, and could take care of himself."

—[*Malcolm's Private Journal.*]

† I quote here, in a note, not with-

but seldom or never did a day pass on which he did not acquire and communicate information of a substantial kind. The number and variety of his literary and political papers are significant rather of the life of a recluse than of a man of active habits, ever in the front of the world. The truth is, that it was on such occasions as these—between the acts of the great stirring drama of life, when the scenes were being shifted and the performers were arraying themselves—that he seated himself before his desk with all the sobriety of a clerk, and the abstractedness of a philosophic student. He had a wonderful faculty of applying himself to the business of the hour. We may be sure that when, as once again he dropped down the Hooghly river, he applied himself to the preparation of a discourse on the career of Nadir Shah (to be submitted by his friend Mr. Colebrooke to the Asiatic Society), he did not suffer any thoughts of Sir Harford Jones to interrupt his researches into the origin of the great Persian conqueror, or the history of his magnificent exploits.

The voyage to Bombay occupied a month; and to Malcolm, in spite of the attentions he received, it was a tedious and wearisome one. His patience was sorely

out a purpose, the whole of this passage, which it need not be said is in Wordsworth's *Excursion*:

The dignity of life is not impaired
By aught that innocently satisfies
The humbler cravings of the heart, and he
Is a still happier man, who for those heights
Of speculation not unfit, descends
And such benign affections cultivates
Among the inferior kinds.

Malcolm's philosophy was eminently Wordsworthian; and yet he could never be brought to admire Wordsworth as a poet. Many years after the point of time which this narrative has now reached, when Malcolm, resident at

Hyde Hall, near Cambridge, delighted to entertain some of the most eminent members of that university—Whewell and Sedgwick included—the great merits of Wordsworth as a poet were often insisted upon at Sir John's table with much earnestness and eloquence by the Cambridge men; but Malcolm never could be induced to give him a place in his calendar of Poets. I have often wondered at this. Malcolm's philosophy, as will have been gathered from his journal-letters quoted in this chapter, was so eminently Wordsworthian. But I shall speak of this matter again in another place.

tried by the baffling winds which met the *Chiffonne* off the island of Ceylon, and he sometimes reproached himself for a testiness very foreign to his nature. Men have lost their temper, under a continuance of adverse winds, with much less excuse for it than Malcolm, who was all eagerness to embrace his young wife and to kiss the babe she had borne him. Such suspense is not favorable to occupation, and, for once, he felt it difficult to fix his mind on the studies ; but he labored assiduously at his paper on the Sikhs, and completed it during the voyage. At last, on the 30th of November, the vessel entered Bombay harbor—and Malcolm was happy.

It seemed, however, that nothing more than a glimpse of domestic joy was to be vouchsafed to him. Scarcely had he joined his family, when he was compelled to busy himself with preparations for departure. The instructions forwarded from Bengal for the organisation of the force which he was to command in the Gulf had of course preceded him, and he now set about his preparations with an energy which nothing could obstruct or abate. By the beginning of the new year his arrangements were so nearly completed that he believed his embarkation would not be many days delayed. On the 3rd of January he wrote to Mr. Henry Wellesley, saying :

“I am now at Bombay, and proceed to the Gulf in ten days, with an admirably well-appointed little force of about two thousand men, and am to be followed, if it is found necessary, by three or four thousand more. The object you know. It is to make a settlement upon the island of Karrack, and to occupy a position on the shores of Persia and Eastern Turkey, from whence we can negotiate with dignity and act—if to act becomes necessary—with effect. We shall, when this first step is taken, be upon some footing with the French and Russians, and have the

means (which we do not at present possess) of encouraging our friends and keeping our enemies in check. In short, we shall advance our resources to the scene of action, and establish a local influence and strength on the basis of which we may rear any fabric, and without which we can do nothing."

A few days afterwards, however, he wrote to Colonel Bannerman, then one of the Directors of the Company, that the necessity of a reference to Bengal had caused the departure of the expedition to be delayed :

"I am here at the head of a very select corps of near two thousand men, and should have sailed before this for the Gulf, had not Sir Harford Jones been as successful in getting away from Bushire two days before he received Lord Minto's orders to return, as he was in escaping by twenty-four hours the orders of the Supreme Government for him to remain in India. This proceeding has produced a question connected with public faith on which I have felt it my duty to write to Bengal, and I shall probably be detained till the 10th of February. Perhaps the gleam of success in Europe may alter all Lord Minto's plans, and I may be countermanded. If so, I shall, with a feeling of delight (as far as I am personally concerned), quit a scene into which I was completely pressed; for after the preference which the gentlemen at home had given to Sir Harford Jones—after the complete neglect with which they had treated me for eight years, during which they have not noticed one of the numerous recommendations of my political services, and after their inattention to my just claims for remuneration for losses incurred by my employment on extra missions (recommended to their notice by the most economical of all their Governors, Sir George Barlow)—I could feel no desire to embark on a mission by which I was likely to lose all hopes of future favor by coming into harsh contact with Sir Harford Jones—the favorite elect. An urgent sense of public duty, however, obliged me to attend to the call of the Supreme Government, and here I am, embarked upon a sea of troubles, with a knowledge that they whose interests it is my incessant labor to promote view all my efforts with an eye of prejudice. I am considered, I am told, a friend to Lord Wellesley

and his measures. This is my first crime.* My second is extravagance of the public money. To the first I plead guilty with feelings of conscious pride. To the second I say it is false, and that ample proof of its being so will be found upon public record. I have been the medium of expending a considerable amount of public money—I have had the conduct of almost every large extra mission that has been undertaken for these last seven years.

* I may mention here that this conviction, which Malcolm had often stated before, was made known at the India House, and was combated by one of the best and ablest of the Directors, Mr. Charles Grant. The following passage of a letter from this excellent man was transcribed by Sir James Mackintosh, and forwarded by him to Malcolm :

"*London, Oct. 14, 1810.*—There never was, certainly, anything more involved, nor of the conclusion of which it is more difficult to form an opinion. The original idea of deputing an Envoy with a King's commission from this country to Persia was itself liable to obvious question. But there was, when it was first conceived, a cogent reason; viz., that of sending the Envoy through Russia, with a view of forming there a joint plan of Persian negotiation to counteract the designs of France. The sudden revolution, however, in the councils of that unhappy being who is Emperor of all the Russias, disconcerted this scheme; but it was thought to render the weight of the King's name in a separate mission to Persia still very expedient, and Sir Harford Jones, who had been taken up in Lord Grenville's administration the year I was last out of the Direction, was adopted by the succeeding administration, in consequence of which I, as deputy-chairman, had to transact with him, jointly with the chairman, Mr. Parry, the details of his mission—the only intercourse I ever happened to be called upon to have with him, and that was conducted purely in an official manner.

"Though I have never seen Colonel Malcolm, I conceive that he and Sir

Harford Jones must be very different men. It is one of the many unjust things imputed to the Court of Directors that they have proscribed character and talents merely because they were employed by Lord Wellesley. The character and talents were not his property. They belonged to the service of the Company, and the Company's right to them was not alienated, nor did they mean to renounce it, because for a time they might have been misdirected. The continuance in office of several gentlemen patronised by Lord Wellesley, and the promotion of Sir George Barlow, who gave in to all his schemes, may be quoted against the imputation I am combating, which probably is not confined to Colonel Malcolm, though I have heard it only through his friends. True it is the Company did not approve Lord Wellesley's foreign policy, and we now continue to groan under its effects. It is also true that his embassy to Persia and other States seemed to us as useless as they were ostentatious and extravagantly expensive; and the treaty with Persia, were it only for the colour that it has afforded to charge us with breach of faith because we would not, when in amity with Russia, assist him against that power, would have been better let alone. I will not say, therefore, that the Persian treaty was likely to recommend the negotiator to our favor: but with respect to the choice of an envoy, that consideration had no place. The leading idea was that there should be a mission not from India, even in the name of the King, but directly from his Court, as well as by his authority."

Some, of course, have been expensive; but was that my fault? Had I any concern in it? I have received thanks for my successful execution of all those missions, and for my attention to economy in their conduct. I never had to refund a rupee since I entered the service. Nor did Government object to one charge which I made.

"I hope I shall be soon liberated from these obligations, which at present keep me to my work—a sense of public duty and gratitude to the Supreme Government for the distinction it had heaped upon me—and I shall instantly retire from a scene with which I am completely disgusted. My fortune is very moderate—less by 6000*l.* than it would have been had I been left as quiet as other Residents. But it is sufficient for me to enjoy every comfort of domestic happiness, and I appreciate that too highly to continue to make a sacrifice of such a solid joy, without much greater prospects of advancement and fame than it would appear lawful for such an humble being as I am to indulge."*

The doubts expressed in this letter were not without solid foundation. Already had Lord Minto written to desire that the sailing of the expedition might be suspended, if it had not already taken its departure. Malcolm was not a man to display his promptitude in the wrong place. He might have embarked his troops and been in full sail for Karrack before the expedition could be countermanded, had he thought only of himself; but he felt that the aspect of affairs in Europe would in all probability induce a change in the councils of Calcutta, and he determined to give the Government a chance of suspending the measure. When, therefore, at the end of January or beginning of February, Malcolm re-

* In this letter he speaks of his literary pursuits. After alluding to his *Memoir of the Sikhs*, which he had sent to Bengal to be published in the *Asiatic Researches*, he says: "I have a *History of Persia* in some forward-

ness, as well as a treatise on the *Political History of British India*. By all this you will perceive that I do not allow any disgust on my mind to prevent my working as hard as I can for the public good."

ceived an official letter from Lord Minto, enclosing the latest intelligence from Europe, and containing the following paragraphs, he was not surprised, and he was hardly disappointed:

“This intelligence warrants a conclusion that the projects of the ruler of France, as connected with Persia and with the British possessions in this country, must at least be indefinitely suspended if not entirely relinquished; the measures therefore in progress for the support of our interests in Persia become less urgent, and the receipt of this intelligence in that country may be expected materially to affect the hopes, the views, and disposition of the Persian Court. We may reasonably expect that the King, thus deprived of the hope of relief from the ascendancy of Russia by the aid of France, will solicit from the British power the support and alliance which the delusive promises of France have hitherto induced him to reject, and we may expect from concession what we were prepared to acquire by force. The establishment at the island of Karrack, although still highly desirable, is become an object of less urgency with reference to our immediate security against the designs of France. The scale of equipment must unavoidably involve a very burdensome expense, which, unless indispensably necessary, is of the utmost importance to avoid. Under the possibility, therefore, that this despatch may reach Bombay before the armament has actually sailed for the Persian Gulf, I deem it a duty to desire that the expedition may be suspended. In this event, however, it is not my intention to abandon the project of forming an establishment on the island of Karrack, but to prosecute it on a more limited scale, and by the means of negotiation, which in the present important change in the affairs of Europe may be expected to be successful. The detail of measures by means of which I contemplate the practicability of accomplishing this object must form the subject of a future despatch. The immediate purpose of this letter is to suspend the expedition if it shall not have left Bombay when this communication shall reach that Presidency.

“If the armament shall have sailed, and shall have accomplished its object, it is not my intention to withdraw the establish-

ment from the island of Karrack, although I shall probably deem it proper to limit the extent of the force employed in the Gulf, with a view to the reduction of expense."

In this letter, Lord Minto, whilst declaring his opinion that the position of affairs in Europe would render the Persian monarch eager to cultivate an alliance with the British, expressed his desire to locate a Resident Minister—~~namely~~ Sir Harford Jones—at the Persian Court; and in other communications it was intimated to Malcolm, that although it was doubtful whether his military functions would not be wholly suspended, he might still proceed to Persia in a political capacity. But he looked askance at the proposal. To Mr. Colebrooke, one of the members of Council, to John Elliot, Lord Minto's son and private secretary, and to others, he wrote that the union of the two authorities was necessary to his success. "I have, thank God, too much principle," he wrote, "to undertake a task which I cannot perform; and such are the accumulated difficulties which await me in Persia, that I must anticipate failure if vested with one iota less than what you originally gave—and under this conviction you could not wish me to proceed. I would rather, I assure you, join my corps, and go in command of it to Persia, if the French or Russians were advancing in that quarter, than hold the highest political station and be directed to carry the plan of operations you have resolved upon into execution in concert with a senior military officer."* And again: "I am not the least angry or offended; but I am resolved upon the line which my own character and the interests of my country require me to pursue. With a divided power, I cannot anticipate success, and I have told them so. . . . In

* *Brigadier Malcolm to Mr. Colebrooke; Bombay, March 8, 1809.*

short, the case is plain: I will not go to Persia on such terms as a political agent."

Whether it had ever been seriously contemplated to send another military officer (as Malcolm here surmises) in command of the force, I do not know; but at this time it would seem that the Government contemplated a total abandonment of the military part of the expedition; and nothing could be done in the political line until the result of Sir Harford Jones's embassy was known. As time advanced, it became more and more obvious that the state of affairs rendered a demonstration of force in the Persian Gulf no longer necessary or expedient; so, on the very day before Malcolm wrote the letter above quoted, Lord Minto addressed to him a long private letter, thus expressing his views:

"You will receive along with this letter an official intimation of the resolutions we have adopted respecting your expedition to the Gulf, which the present state of affairs both in Europe and Persia have induced us to lay aside. From some passages in your letters, I should apprehend that our opinion does not entirely concur with yours upon this point. I shall think this not only a subject of regret, but a ground of reasonable distrust in our own judgment. It has been formed, however, on mature consideration, or rather, having been suggested by the first aspect of the new events in Europe, it has been confirmed by more deliberate reflection, and bears with it, to me, the strong sanction of the entire and unanimous concurrence of my colleagues. I know that a struggle—and, considering both the efforts that will be made and the precious stake that is to be contested, I may be allowed to say, a fearful struggle—is yet to be maintained for Spain, as well as for other great interests in Europe. I have good hopes, thank God, of that great and noble cause; but if I thought the influence of European events on the affairs and policy of our Indian Empire turned altogether on the first issue of the contests in Spain, I should not think any considerable alteration of system, or relaxation in either military or political preparation, were yet warranted.

My view of the events alluded to goes further; and whatever comes of the first crash in Spain, the rest of Europe seems to me sufficiently agitated by the great scene that has been acting there to demand the full and exclusive attention and exertion of the French Government, and to preclude for a time, indefinite, but certainly not short, the distant and difficult projects which have been the objects of our late policy and measures. I think it safe—and if safe it certainly is advisable—to frame our present measures upon the principle that a French invasion of India is not *now* to be apprehended; and if that danger should again arise, it must follow events yet to occur, which will give both to us and to our Government at home sufficient notice to renew our defensive preparations. I consider one of the most effectual preparations against a danger thus remote, as I think it, to be the reduction of every public charge that is not indispensable. In that view we have directed our late measures to a speedy pacification with the Rajah of Lahore; and it falls within the same principle to abstain from the unascertained, but generally considerable, charges of new settlements and territorial establishments, such as that which was proposed at Karrack. If the considerations which prevailed when you conceived so wisely, and recommended that plan so ably to our adoption, were still equally valid or urgent, no motives of economy should induce me to forego it. But, without deciding whether the possession of Karrack may not be deemed advantageous independent of the benefit we expected from it while a French invasion was contemplated, the absence of that danger makes undoubtedly a great difference in several material points. First, it does not appear necessary to obtain that object by military force, or by measures of actual hostility. Persia has, now, occasion for our friendship, and so small a sacrifice would not be refused, if it were thought expedient to make it an object of negotiation. In the next place, every purpose of this Government would be answered by a very inconsiderable post on that island; and the establishment required for it, on the supposition of peace and of an amicable occupation, would bear no relation to that over which, for objects entirely different, you was to preside. If, after all, a forcible occupation of Karrack should become advisable, I conceive it can never be difficult to accomplish it. For these reasons, and for others which it is not necessary to enumerate in this letter, I think we are at liberty, and it is, therefore, our duty, to re-

nounce the proposed expedition, and, so far as Persia is concerned, to resume our peace establishment. Knowing how your mind and all its powers have for such a length of time been devoted to the great interests involved in the affairs of Persia and generally in the Persian Gulf—knowing how instrumental I have myself been in disturbing the tranquillity, public and domestic, of your permanent station at Mysore, and of kindling the very ardor which this letter is to extinguish—I cannot but feel extreme regret and discomfort at a termination which, on one hand, withdraws such talents as yours, with all the energy which belongs to your character, from the great field on which they were to be displayed, and, on the other, may seem to blight the rich fruits of honor and distinction which you were on the point of gathering. These are sentiments in which I hope and *am convinced* you firmly believe, while I rely on the rectitude as well as strength of mind which distinguish you for feeling that they are sentiments which may be permitted to follow, but which could not be allowed any share in forming, our resolution on this great public question.”

To this decision Malcolm bowed with divided feelings. He was, in one sense, disappointed, for an opportunity of serving his country and acquiring distinction was suddenly lost to his ambition, whilst a large instalment of domestic happiness and repose seemed now to be gained to his love. To all appearance it had become his appointed duty to return to the Mysore Residency. The state of the monsoon prevented him from immediately taking ship for Madras, so he sojourned for some weeks longer at Bombay. In the society of Sir James Mackintosh, and in the collection and preparation of materials for his contemplated Political History of India, and a still more important work on the History of Persia, he found much both to delight and occupy his mind. But it was not decreed that he should enjoy any continued season of social relaxation or literary leisure. In the course of May he embarked with his family for Madras; but he arrived there only to find the Government in alarm, the

Presidency in commotion, and the army in rebellion. That great event known in history as the Madras Mutiny was now realising Malcolm's forebodings. He had seen the storm coming on for years; and now that it was come, he had fully made up his mind regarding the line of conduct which it behoved the Government to pursue. The long-fermenting discontent had been brought to the climax of open mutiny by a circumstance which, though of comparative insignificance in itself, added to a pile of antecedent wrongs, completed a weight of injury too heavy for the army to bear.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE MADRAS MUTINY.

[1809.]

ABOLITION OF THE TENT-CONTRACT—CONDUCT OF GENERAL MACDOWALL—
ARREST OF COLONEL MUNRO—EXCESSES OF THE ARMY—MEASURES OF THE
MADRAS GOVERNMENT—THE MUTINY AT MASULIPATAM—MALCOLM DE-
SPATCHED THITHER—HIS TREATMENT OF THE MUTINEERS—RETURN TO
MADRAS—DISAPPROBATION OF SIR GEORGE BARLOW—OPINIONS OF SIR JAMES
MACKINTOSH—REAPPOINTMENT TO PERSIA.

IN the month of February, 1807, Sir John Cradock, being then Commander-in-Chief of the Coast Army, in pursuance of a general scheme of retrenchment suggested by the Court of Directors and acted upon by the local Government, called upon Colonel Munro, his quarter-master-general, to take into his special consideration, and to afford the Commander-in-Chief every assistance that might enable him to form a sound judgment respecting, the manner in which camp equipage was supplied to the Native Army.*

Under the existing system, the commanding officers of regiments held a contract for the supply of tents and carriage for their men. The amount of the contract-money did not vary; in peace or war it was the same. Colonel Munro thought it was a bad system; and among

* *Sir John Cradock to Colonel Munro; February 7, 1807.*

other evils, he pointed out that it had a tendency to induce officers to enrich themselves at the expense of the efficiency of their corps. He recommended, therefore, that the system should be abolished. Government concurred with him in opinion, and these tent-contracts were abolished.

Sir John Cradock was succeeded in the command of the Coast Army by General Macdowall. The commander-in-chief of a presidency is ordinarily appointed to a seat in the Government, and draws the salary of a member of Council. The appointment emanates from the India House; but in the present case, for certain reasons which it is unnecessary to explain, the Court of Directors refused to nominate General Macdowall a member of the Coast Government. The result may be readily anticipated. The Commander-in-Chief, who was very sparingly endowed with temper and judgment, hugged the grievance to his heart, and lived in a chronic state of irritation not only against the Company, who had offended him, but against the Government of Sir George Barlow, which was wholly guiltless of the offence.

The abolition of the tent-contracts was grievously unpopular with the officers of the Native Army, especially with those of the higher ranks. Dissatisfaction had been for some time fermenting among them; and General Macdowall rather increased than allayed the general irritation. A memorial was drawn up by the officers, the object of which was to state their grievances to Lord Minto, and to solicit him to recommend to the Court of Directors that they should be placed on the same footing in respect of allowances as their brethren of the Bengal Army. This fact was communicated by General Macdowall to Sir George Barlow, who at once ordered the proceedings to be stayed. The General, indeed, himself suggested that a general order should be issued,

prohibiting the transmission of the memorial; and a circular letter to the different regiments was issued accordingly in his name. But whilst, in his official character, he was thus stifling the free expression of opinion, he was privately doing everything to encourage it. He told the officers with whom he communicated that his circulars were merely official, written at the request of Government; and he did not hesitate at his own dinner-table to speak in a disrespectful and contemptuous manner of the Government he served, and to express his sympathy with the hostile sentiments of the officers both towards Sir George Barlow and the Court of Directors.

Though all through the year 1808 the discontent of the Madras Army had been thus fermenting, there had been up to the very close of it no open rupture, no public scandal. The reductions had been carried out. But for these reductions, however unpalatable to the officers whom they affected, Sir George Barlow was not responsible. He was simply the instrument of an unpopular measure. He obeyed the orders of the higher authorities, under the assurance that if he did not, they would be carried out by others, and, perhaps, in a severer manner;* but, in doing so, he pointed out the injury which they would inflict, and suggested the means of partial compensation. It was hoped that the proposal to grant certain additional fixed allowances in the place of these lucrative contracts would allay the discontent which the

* "From what I have seen of Sir George Barlow, I have no doubt that we shall go on smoothly, and we are, indeed, already on the best footing. You know that his great object is reduction (of expenditure); but the orders which he has received from home make it quite impossible for him to do otherwise. He has been plainly told that the thing must be done; and that if it is not done here the Court of

Directors will take the pruning-knife (that is the expression) into their own hands—an alternative which it is certainly desirable to avert. On the whole, the retrenchments which he has made have clearly not come from himself—at least in many cases—but have been forced upon him by positive orders from home."—[*Mr. Secretary Buckam to Colonel Malcolm; May 1, 1808.*]

abolition of the latter had created. Barlow, indeed, was moved by so strong a desire to act not only justly, but generously towards the officers of the Madras Presidency, that he exceeded in his recommendations the line prescribed by the Supreme Government for the general regulation of the allowances of the army.*

But the new year came, pregnant with great results. Affairs were rapidly reaching a crisis. The recommendations of Colonel Munro, the quartermaster-general, for the abolition of the tent-contracts had been supported by certain arguments of a general character, which most unprejudiced men will now admit to be sound. It was presumed, however, that they contained a reflection upon the character of the officers; and although the communication was in reality a confidential one, the substance of it was in time made public. The adjutant-general, Colonel Capper, was a friend of General Macdowall. He circulated the obnoxious paragraphs in Munro's report. Some of the senior officers believing, as I have said, that they were reflected upon, then appealed to the Commander-in-Chief, and clamored for a court-martial—

* "We go on as quietly as possible at this Presidency. There is, I understand, some grumbling, in consequence of the reduction of the bazaar allowances and the tent-contract; and I believe that there is an address preparing among some of the Company's officers to the Supreme Government, soliciting to be put on an equality of allowances with the officers of Bengal. The proposition has, however, I understand, been rejected by all the King's regiments, and by one or two in terms of great judgment and propriety. Such a measure is quite impossible, as it would entail such an insupportable burden on the finances of this Government as to make it at once better to renounce the country to any power that would take it. I have little doubt that we shall hear no more of the matter

when an arrangement is out that is now preparing for improving the situations of officers commanding regiments and Government stations. The intention is to give full batta to officers commanding corps in peace, and superior full batta in the field; to allow superior full batta to officers holding Government commands; and to give brigadiers' allowances to the senior officers at all stations where two corps are assembled. Sir George Barlow has viewed this matter in a very proper light, and, being satisfied of the propriety of the measure, he intends to exceed, in a considerable degree, the line which was laid down by the Supreme Government regarding the allowances of this army."—[*Mr. Secretary Buchan to Colonel Malcolm; June 5, 1808.*]

not to investigate their own conduct, but Munro's. Upon this, Macdowall placed the quartermaster-general under arrest. About the same time, a memorial to the Court of Directors from the officers of the Coast Army was forwarded to Government by General Macdowall, in direct violation of his own orders—a memorial which, among other grievances to be redressed, called for the appointment to Council of the Commander-in-Chief, as “the representative of the Army.” These were blows struck at the local Government to which a man of Sir George Barlow's courageous temper was not likely to submit in patience. Colonel Munro was released from arrest, and General Macdowall removed from his command. Then the General issued a farewell address to the army, and a general order, censuring Colonel Munro—both of them couched in language calculated to increase the excitement which pervaded military society. The Adjutant and Deputy-Adjutant-General, both vehement partisans, published the obnoxious order, and were suspended by Government for the act.*

The irritation of the army now became extreme. Capper and Boles were regarded as martyrs to a righteous cause. A subscription was got up to remunerate the latter for the loss of his allowances; and an address of sympathy and commendation was presented to him by his brother-officers. Another memorial, also, was addressed to Lord Minto, calling upon the Governor-General not only to redress the grievances of which they complained, but to remove the Governor who had so wronged and insulted them. Such proceedings as these could not pass unnoticed. On the 1st of May, Sir George Barlow issued an order, condemning the conduct of the misguided officers, and suspending some of those who

* It was signed by the Deputy, neral, Colonel Capper, boasted of his Major Boles; but the Adjutant-Ge- acquiescence in its contents.

had been foremost in their opposition to constituted authority. The order was received as an act of insulting tyranny; and the culminating point of excitement was reached.

Then followed seditious meetings; violent discussions; inflammatory appeals to the army; and insulting letters to Sir George Barlow.* There are men now living who look back with astonishment—almost with incredulity—to that period of mutinous excitement. At many of the large army-stations the officers of the Company's regiments avowed themselves ready for any act of daring revolt. They encouraged one another in treason. They talked of fighting against a tyrannical Government in defence of their rights to the last drop of their blood. Seditious toasts were given at the mess-tables and drunk with uproarious applause. From day to day tidings went forth from one excited station to another—tidings of progressive insubordination, which fortified with assurances of sympathy and support the insane resolves of the scattered mutineers. The arrival of every post raised a fever of expectancy. Letters from the disaffected cantonments were eagerly read and instantly circulated. The moral intoxication pervaded all ranks, from the colonel to the ensign. The evil stimulant worked apace. The accumulated bile and bitterness wanted an outlet. If the goddess Cloacina, in the shape of a Free Press, had been at hand, all might have gone well. But there was no such safety-valve in existence. One officer made the experiment; but the loyal editor sent the letter to Sir George Barlow.

* Take, for example, the following passage of a letter to Sir George—one of many similar productions before me:

" . . . Even the parties whom you have set in opposition will unite in execrating you, though it is not probable they will be agreed in any other

sentiment. . . . Do you wish it to be said of you, 'Sir George sacrificed the territories he governed, and all the English people in them, by making them butcher each other, rather than confess he had done wrong, though it was notorious he had done so?'"

Loud and inflated as was the talk—tremendous as were the denunciations uttered against Government at this time, they were not mere turgid menaces. The disaffected officers were in reality ripe for action. They were prepared to cast off the authority of the local Government, and to march at the head of their regiments to the Presidency to demand redress. They knew, as in most instances their men were prepared to follow them, that this might result in a bloody internecine war. For the contagion was not universal. There were regiments still true to constituted authority. There were officers who, in spite of the appeals of their comrades, addressed Sir George Barlow with assurances of support. The King's corps, it was believed, would support Government. The threatened crisis was, therefore, nothing less tremendous than a war to be waged by one-half of the Madras Army against the other.

The two great centres of insurrection were Hyderabad and Masulipatam. Of the rebellious movements at the former place it is not necessary that, on this occasion, I should write much in detail. At the latter was posted the Company's one Madras European regiment. It was naturally a great point with the mutineers that this corps of Englishmen should be upon their side. There had never, indeed, been much doubt regarding the part that it would take. It had for some time been in a state of relaxed discipline. The officers were disaffected, and they had communicated the spirit of discontent to their men. An address, distinguished by unpardonable indiscretion, which General Macdowall had delivered after an inspection of the regiment, had increased the ill feeling against Government. They had been taught by the Commander-in-Chief to believe that they had been thrust into a remote corner, and purposely left there to rust away in obscurity and inaction. The feeling of dis-

affection was shared by the other officers, and in the spring of 1809 it might have been said that there was not a loyal soul in all the force at Masulipatam.

It was whilst the garrison was in this temper, and, encouraged by the Hyderabad subsidiary force, ready to break out into open mutiny, that Colonel Innes arrived, early in May, to take command of the European regiment. He appears to have been a man of unimpeachable loyalty, of good intentions, but defective judgment. And he arrived only too well-prepared to find sedition in every word, and mutiny in every gesture. On the first evening, he was invited to dine with the officers of his new regiment. Several strangers were present on the occasion. Among the toasts given after dinner—those were toast-giving days—"The Friends of the Army" was one. There was a vagueness in the words, whatever the intent of the proposer, which rendered them harmless enough to satisfy the 'most loyal nature in the country. But it is a significant proof of the excitement which inflamed men's minds in that conjuncture, and confounded the judgments alike of the loyal and the disloyal, that Colonel Innes recoiled from the toast. He had heard that seditious toasts were sometimes given at the Mess, and detecting sedition in "The Friends of the Army," he proposed to drink "The Madras Army" in its place. The amendment was not acceptable, and was not accepted. So the Colonel rose and quitted the room. The toast was then drunk with acclamation; and as the noise of the loud huzzas reached his ears, he believed that the members of the Mess were hooting in derisive honor of his departure.

A connexion with a regiment, commenced at such a time under such circumstances, could only have had one result. The Madras European regiment was soon in a state of internal as of external mutiny. It was at war

with Government and at war with itself. It is unnecessary to relate all the circumstances attending the rupture between Colonel Innes and his officers. They assumed many different complications, and at last drew from the Colonel, apparently on the strength of a communication from higher authority, a threat that the regiment should be disbanded. It happened that, at this inopportune season, orders were received from the Presidency for the embarkation of a certain number of men of the European regiment, duly officered, on board one of the King's frigates, to act as marines.* The intent of this measure was at once misconstrued. Some believed, others pretended to believe, that this was but the first step towards the breaking up of the corps. The ferment then became extreme. Innes was warned of the danger of carrying out the orders of Government; but he would not be deterred from the execution of his duty by any mutinous threats. He declared his intention of obeying the instructions he had received. So the regiment rose against him to a man. They called in an officer† from a Native battalion to take command of the corps; declared Colonel Innes under arrest; placed sentries over him, and held him in personal restraint.

This was on the 25th of June. On the 1st of July, intelligence of this outrage reached Madras. Malcolm had then been for some weeks at the Presidency. He had been in constant communication with Sir George Barlow and all the higher civil and military officers of the State. His opinions he had freely expressed. He had many correspondents at the large army-stations, and

* This was not unusual in those days. The service had previously been performed by the King's troops; but orders had come from the Horse

Guards prohibiting such employment of his Majesty's soldiers, except in cases of extreme emergency.
† Major Storey.

he knew both what was the extent of the disaffection,* and what was expected from his personal exertions.† He saw that Sir George Barlow was not fully alive to the real proportions of the danger which threatened the State; that the orders of the 1st of May had exasperated, not overawed the army; and that the feeling among the principal officers was, that they had so far committed themselves, that it was almost impossible to recede. There were those who argued that having gone so far, firmness was "the only salvation of the army."‡ The hope then entertained by Government that the storm was dispersing itself, was clearly a delusion. They spoke approvingly of the better temper of the Hyderabad force,

* Take, for example, the following from a Jaulnah letter: "Be assured that I have had many opportunities of observing the sentiments of the officers of the army in general; and rely upon it, Malcolm, that at this present moment a greater and more general sensation is prevalent than even you are aware of. The publication of the late order to the subsidiary force has occasioned a general emotion; and was either, I fear, suggested by some person who wished to assume a degree of credit with Government that he was not entitled to, or prompted by some evil genius. It savors too much of the '*Divide et impera*;' and that it has been so considered, the late address to the Commander-in-Chief (which has, I understand, been forwarded from the officers at Secunderabad) must be considered as a convincing proof."—[*Colonel Doveton to Colonel Malcolm, June 16, 1809.*]

† "Your conduct in embarking in the stormy sea is worthy of you, and what must have been expected by all those who are at all acquainted with your mind. I would have no half measures. Every Government has a right to call for the abilities of those characters on whom they can confide in times like the present, and I should be

almost inclined to pronounce that man a traitor to his country who refused to obey such a call. I consider your arrival one of the most fortunate possible circumstances for Sir George Barlow's Government, and I have every reason to suppose that such is the concurring sentiment of the army in general."—[*Colonel Doveton to Colonel Malcolm, June 18, 1809.*]

‡ Take, for example, the following, addressed to Malcolm by Colonel Scott: "The extremity to which the army has at last had recourse is doubtless to be deplored. But having commenced, you must be sensible that firmness becomes the only salvation of the army. That or Sir George Barlow (not the Government) must sink or swim; and I must still confess myself sufficiently the friend of the army to hope that it may swim. Nay, I will confess to you further, that even if I were convinced that I were wrong, I would not now desert the cause which I have espoused, or the principles which I have avowed; and I declare that if opposition to the Coast Army were to take place, and I, as a Government officer, were called upon to act against them, I would resign my appointment and live or die with my brother-officers."

and the Hyderabad force flung back the approbation into the face of Government with scorn.

But now, on the 1st of July, the whole painful truth broke rudely upon the statesmen of the Coast. On that day Malcolm went by invitation to Sir George Barlow's garden-house, in the pleasant suburbs of Madras ; for on that day the Governor had received from the Hyderabad force a disrespectful remonstrance, calling upon him in peremptory language to annul the orders of the 1st of May. From Masulipatam also on that day had arrived intelligence of the outrage of which I have spoken. Malcolm's advice was eagerly sought. There was a long and animated discussion. He recommended that an officer of rank should be despatched at once to the latter place, to take the command of the European regiment and the garrison, and that a letter should be sent to the Commandant of the Hyderabad subsidiary force, pointing out the dangerous tendency of such addresses, and the impossibility of complying with their requests; and, at the same time, instructing a general caution to be conveyed to the officers of the force, warning them of the certain ruin which would result from their perseverance in such a course of procedure.* To this Sir George Barlow assented. But who was to be sent to Masulipatam? Malcolm knew that the duty was one which could not be regarded with much complacency by any officer in the army—that such a command would be shrunk from rather than sought. So he did what every reader of this narrative will be prepared to read of his doing : he offered to go himself to the scene of trouble; and the offer was at once accepted. It was agreed that he should sail on the following day. There was no time to draft instructions; but the whole subject was fully discussed

* Colonel Close was afterwards sent to take command of the Subsidiary Force.

in all its bearings. Malcolm believed that the Governor thoroughly understood his views, and placed the utmost confidence in his discretion. It subsequently, however, came to be matter of poignant regret that he had gone forth on this dangerous mission without the written orders of the Government he represented.

For Malcolm's views, as it will presently appear, differed greatly from those of Sir George Barlow. He knew that the army was dissatisfied. He knew that it had long been dissatisfied, and not without reason. The abolition of the tent-contracts was only a crowning grievance. In all parts of the world men require an adequate motive to exertion. In India it is especially required. The sacrifices which a man makes in leaving his native country are not small. The sources of discontent and despondency are many. Perhaps in two words, Profit and Honor, the sum and substance of all incentive are contained. The officers of the Indian army looked for the means of comfortable retirement in old age: but the emoluments of their profession had been dwindling down before their eyes, until it seemed to be the sole wish of their masters to ascertain how much of retrenchment and reduction they could bear without an outbreak of open mutiny. The profits of the service were fast disappearing; and the honors had never appeared. In those days, indeed, the Company's officer knew nothing of honor but that which he carried about in his own breast. Fifteen years before, Malcolm had emphatically pointed out the invidious distinctions which kept the service to which he belonged in a continual state of degradation. But the Company's officers were still the Pariahs, the King's officers the Brahmins, of the service. All the honorary distinctions for which the soldier yearns were religiously guarded against the profane touch of the Pariahs by the fiery sword of Privilege.

It might happen, as had happened in the case of Malcolm, of Close, and one or two others, that reputation might be gained for the Company's officer by a career of successful diplomacy. But to the general body of the army this was no consolation. To the soldier nothing was conceded; and it was into the soldier's breast that, from one end of India to the other, the shame of this exclusion was burning.*

All his adult life long Malcolm had been keenly alive to this the great reproach of his order. For years he had heard, growing louder and louder, the groan which spoke the discontent of his comrades. He knew that they had just grounds of complaint, and he sympathised largely with their sufferings; but now that their wrongs declared themselves in language violent, disloyal, seditious, and in acts no less violent, disloyal, and seditious, there was no longer any community of feeling between them. He could see nothing to justify the outrages they had committed. But remembering the circumstances out of which the unhappy state of things had arisen, and believing that there was much good and loyal feeling still left in the Coast Army, he thought that it would be more just and more expedient to endeavour to win the recusants back to their allegiance by mild and conciliatory measures, than to dragoon them into obedience by acts of overawing severity.

With these feelings Malcolm undertook the mission to Masulipatam. If in the difficult work which lay before him he thought that he might trust somewhat not only to the inherent force, but to the prestige also of his personal character, I think that it was an honest pride, a

* See letter to Colonel Close, quoted *ante*, page 393. This part of the argument applied to the whole Indian army. But the Coast Army had an

especial complaint on the score of their pecuniary allowances, which were inferior to those enjoyed by the Bengal officers.

noble self-reliance that sustained him. He was an officer of the Coast Army of whose services that army was naturally proud. No member of it had a higher reputation. But beyond this, Malcolm knew that he was held in esteem as a man of a genial nature, and a frank, manly character. He believed that he might be received in a friendly manner, where men of more stately habits and of colder temperament, more addicted to the specialities of red tape, would be rejected with scorn and indignation. Still, there was difficulty and danger in the work which lay before him. He was going to face a body of men highly excited and exasperated by the past acts of Government, with a commission from that Government to place himself in command of them, and hold them in control. It was a task which required for its due fulfilment an equal amount of high courage and sound judgment. Of the former, no man in India possessed a larger share than Malcolm. The latter did not often fail him; but he was a man of quick and generous impulse; sanguine temperament; strong sympathies; and prompt action. It was, perhaps, in consistence with such a character as his to regard a question too exclusively in one point of view, and to shape his conduct in accordance with the limited aspects thus presented to him. He had mixed largely with men, and he had considerable knowledge of mankind—but he knew more of the better than of the worse side of humanity; and he sought to govern men through their good feelings rather than through their bad. If this were an error, it is very possible to err also on the other side; and I would rather go wrong in the sunshine than in the shade.

Such were the sentiments with which Malcolm regarded the great and painful question to the practical solution of which he was about to address himself. He was a man of a most unreserved nature—never chary

of discourse. He freely declared his opinions to men of all ranks. He had, ever since his arrival at Madras, been recommending the adoption of conciliatory measures.* And now that he had received his commission to proceed to Masulipatam, he spoke in the same open, undisguised manner of the sentiments with which he would embark on the duty before him. On the day on which this duty was entrusted to him, he had a warm discussion with some of the principal officers of the Staff, who insisted on the expediency of sending a body of King's troops to Masulipatam and the other rebellious stations, to attack and overawe the mutineers. One officer declared his belief that Malcolm was friendly to concessions which would degrade the character of the Government; and that unless he determined on sending the ringleaders of the Masulipatam mutiny under a guard to Madras, more harm than good would result from his mission. Angry and indignant, Malcolm fired up, and flung back the imputation with a warmth which well-nigh led to a personal encounter. The interference of friends prevented a collision; but it was plain to Malcolm that if such were the opinions of the principal councillors of the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief, it was not improbable that measures would be adopted in his absence at variance with the course which he intended to pursue. So he went again to Sir George Barlow, stated what had passed, and urged the impossibility of his proceeding to Masulipatam if such opinions were endorsed by Government. "Sir G. Barlow," says Malcolm, in his account of this interview,

* He had proposed to Sir George Barlow, among other measures, to circulate and to obtain signatures to a Memorial, of a respectful but not too humiliating character, to be addressed by the officers of the army to the

Madras Government; and he had prepared more than one draft of the proposed document. But Sir George Barlow, on consideration, disapproved of the plan.

"gave me at this second conference every assurance that could be given to satisfy my mind. He declared he would not listen to any such violent counsels as I had heard, that he gave me his entire confidence, and vested me with the fullest discretion to act in all respects as I thought proper in my endeavours to reclaim the deluded men to whom I was proceeding to reflection and duty, and that he was satisfied the honor of his Government was perfectly safe in my hands. He determined at this moment to return the address from Hyderabad, and to write a letter to the commanding officer of that force, in terms calculated to show his forbearance, and indeed to evince to the violent, misguided officers of that station the same temperate, conciliatory disposition as had led him to depute me to Masulipatam. He desired me to make a memorandum of what I conceived he should write upon this occasion. I instantly drew out a memorandum. With this Sir George Barlow was perfectly pleased, and desired me to give it the form of a letter, and deliver it to Lieutenant-Colonel Barclay, that it might be despatched next day.* I did so, and carried the copy of the memorandum with me to Masulipatam." "Sir George Barlow's desire then was," wrote Malcolm in another place, "to conciliate and reclaim the Company's army, not to render them desperate. I was particularly desired to point their views to England, to persuade them by every effort to await the decision of the Court of Directors, and to prevent their precipitating themselves into guilt from which they could never retreat.

* "Instead of sending this letter, the order for the march of a battalion from Hyderabad to Goa, in prosecution of the plan of dividing the Sepoy corps, was sent two days after my departure, and provoked, as was to be expected, open resistance and rebellion."—J. M.

Malcolm complained afterwards, that as he told the officers at Masulipatam that the memorandum would be sent to Hyderabad, the subsequent failure caused him to be charged with wilful deception. Such an imputation must have grievously annoyed him.

Sir George Barlow appeared satisfied that I could effect this through the influence of my general character and the power of reason, aided by the justice of the cause I had to support."

On the following day Malcolm crossed the Madras surf, and on the 4th of July he landed at Masulipatam. He found the garrison in an extreme state of excitement—nay more, "in a state of open and bold mutiny." They had made their preparations to march towards Hyderabad and effect a junction with the Subsidiary Force. We were on the eve, indeed, of a great intestine conflict, which might have overthrown the British empire in the East. The exasperation of the officers was greater even than Malcolm had anticipated, and his arrival at first increased it. Their first impulse was to resist his authority at all hazards. But he met the principal officers of the garrison at once, heard what they had to say, and argued the case fairly with them. It need not be said that the violence was upon their side—the reason upon his. They stated their grievances again and again, and declared that nothing would bring them back to their allegiance but a distinct assurance that their wrongs would be redressed. From all pledges and promises Malcolm resolutely abstained; but he spoke to them in a conciliatory spirit; he told them that they had erroneously and injuriously interpreted the temper of the Government under which they served, and that the surest means of obtaining redress for any real grievances resided in their return to loyalty and obedience. He told them that concessions extorted by threats of insurrection would have the effect of overthrowing the Government, and that to overthrow the Government would be to seal their own destruction. Little by little his arguments made their way at that excited meeting. During four long hours the strife of words continued.

But the violence gradually abated ; and when the conclave broke up, Malcolm believed that he had brought his opponents to a juster view alike of their interests and their duties. But they would make no other acknowledgment than that if they consented to delay the execution of the extreme measures for which they were prepared, it was only in regard for the character and in consideration of the position of an officer whom they held in such great esteem. Malcolm, they declared, was the only officer of rank in India whom they would have admitted into the garrison at all.

This at least was something gained. But the ground on which he stood required to be trod with caution. Any hasty assertion of authority would, he felt, have marred his success. He did not, therefore, at once address the troops, or issue any explanatory orders. There was one measure, however, which he deemed it improper to defer for an hour. He instantly ordered Colonel Innes to be released from arrest. The sentries who had been placed over him were sent to their barracks.

On that evening Malcolm dined at the Mess of the European regiment. There the same trial awaited him as had been too much for Colonel Innes. Several strangers were present ; and the party was a large one. After dinner the standing toasts were given ; and among them the "Friends of the Army"—with three times three. There appeared to Malcolm no good reason why he should not join in such a toast. It was, he said, one of so general a character, that he was sure it included most men, both in India and in England. So he joined in the toast, and I doubt not swelled the chorus of applause. But a more formidable trial was before him. A gentleman at table sang a nautical song in which there were frequent allusions to some "common cause." The

words were eagerly caught at by some of the younger officers, who were flushed with wine; and presently, at their instigation, the whole party rose to drink "The Common Cause." For a moment—but only for a moment—Malcolm felt perplexed and embarrassed. With characteristic promptitude he rose, filled his*glass to the brim, and in a loud, animated voice, exclaimed, "The Common Cause of our Country!" The amendment was accepted by all, and drunk with enthusiasm. Soon afterwards Malcolm rose to retire, but had scarcely quitted the room before his own health was proposed and drunk, three times three, with acclamation. "Thus closed," he wrote that night in his journal, "the most anxious day I ever passed in my life. May my efforts be successful in reclaiming these men from the errors into which they have plunged!"

On the following day, several of the officers waited on him at his residence, which was a garden-house outside the fort. The discussion of the preceding day was then resumed; and some obscure hints were thrown out that the garrison, if no assurances were given them, would cease to recognise Malcolm's authority. He told them that they knew little of his character if they thought he would make any pledges which the Government had not authorised, or be deterred from doing his duty by any threats. But they parted in good humor, and again Malcolm felt, that if he had done nothing else, he had gained time. He was now acting on Mackintosh's sound advice,* and he felt that, in such a conjuncture, time was everything to the cause of Government. But he clearly saw the extent of the danger; and he wrote to Sir George Barlow, emphatically urging upon him the expediency of adopting conciliatory measures:

* *Ante*, page 419.

"These deluded men," he wrote, "are aware of the ruin they are bringing upon themselves; but their infatuation is so great, that they are reconciled to their ruin, in the expectation that it will equally involve that Government against which their rage has been so industriously and so successfully excited. All attempts to reason with men in the state of mind they are in appears vain. Even the circulation of the able letter from Bengal is, as I apprehended, likely to inflame, instead of appeasing their passions. It is so true, that when men's minds have gone completely wrong, that which ought to put them right has, in general, a direct contrary effect: and the fact is, that all those correct principles and loyal feelings which are so eloquently expressed in the letter from the Supreme Government, but serve to impress them more forcibly with a sense of that guilt into which they have so precipitately rushed, and to render them more desperate in their proceedings, as they can (after what has passed, and particularly late events at this place) only see individual safety in all being equally involved in the deepest guilt. I entreat you to be persuaded that these sentiments are quite general; or, at least, that the few who do not entertain them have neither the means nor the courage to oppose their progress; and allow themselves, with an indefensible passiveness, to be borne along with the tide. Under such a state of circumstances, all hopes of this spirit of insurrection subsiding must be at an end. Some steps must instantly be taken; and no good can result from the application of any partial remedy. The disease is general, and the remedy must be so also. It remains with you to decide on the measures that are to be adopted. The first and most military, though not, perhaps, the most political, that suggests itself, is the employment of actual force. In such a contest, however, not only the means must be calculated, but the result; and, as far as I can judge, success, even in this extreme, would not save us from the most baneful consequences. It seems, therefore, not wise to have resort to such a measure, till every other that it is possible for Government to take, without the annihilation of its own power and dignity, has been tried and failed. Unqualified concession to the demands of the army, either in dismissing public servants of Government, or in rescinding its orders, would be a virtual resignation of its power, and cannot, therefore, be made. It would, indeed, be better and more honorable, if *matters were at the worst*, that Government should fall by any

hands than its own. Should Government not resolve on having immediate resort to force, one line only remains that could at the present moment afford a rational hope of the necessity of having recourse to that extreme being avoided, or at least of its being resorted to with advantage: which is, to meet the crisis at once, by a General Order to something of the following purport:

“Government finds, with concern, that it can no longer indulge that sanguine hope which it once entertained, that the irritation which a variety of causes have combined to produce in the minds of the Company's army on the coast would subside; and as it is satisfied that the evils which must result from the existence of those combinations against its authority that are now formed in almost every station, will, if suffered to continue, be as injurious to the public interests as if those by whom these proceedings are carried on were in a state of open hostility to Government; it feels compelled to anticipate every extreme that can occur, and to publish to the army at large the final resolutions which it has adopted under this extraordinary and unparalleled situation of affairs: and these resolutions will, it is satisfied, be found to combine as much attention to the feelings of the army as it is possible to show without a sacrifice of the public interest, and an abandonment of the authority and dignity of Government. The Governor in Council can and does make every possible allowance for feelings so strongly excited as those of the officers of the Coast Army have been, and is disposed to refer that great agitation of mind into which they have been thrown by a concurrence of causes which must greatly mitigate, if they do not altogether extenuate, that degree of criminality which must always attach to such proceedings; and, under such impressions, he can view their extreme solicitude regarding those of their brother-officers whom he has thought it his duty to suspend the service, with that consideration which is due to a highly meritorious body of officers, acting under the strong impulse of warm and honorable, but mistaken feelings. And with such sentiments he cannot deem it derogatory to Government to state that he intends, in the full confidence that the officers of the Coast Army will abandon their present dangerous course of proceeding, to recommend to the Honorable the Court of Directors the restoration to the service of those officers whose suspension, and the reasons which led to it, have been reported to them, and who are consequently the only authority by which

that act can be repealed: and he can have no doubt but the earnest desire of their brother-officers, combined with the high character which most of the officers under suspension formerly held, will induce the Honorable Court to overlook their late conduct, and comply with this recommendation. Acting upon the same principle, Government is pleased to appoint Colonel Bell to the charge of the battalion of artillery at the Mount, and Colonel Chalmers to the command of the subsidiary force in Travancore. Lieutenant Maitland is appointed quartermaster of the European regiment of infantry.

“The committee of inquiry ordered to assemble at Masulipatam is repealed; and no act, either of any body, or of individual officers in the Company’s service, of which no cognizance has yet been taken, and which occurred before the present date, will be made subject of future notice, or even operate to the disadvantage of such body of officers or individuals, unless they should, by a perseverance in the same course, and a repetition of the same conduct, forfeit all claim to such lenity and consideration at a moment when Government has taken such steps to tranquillise the agitated minds of the army, and to leave even the most mistaken without a plea for perseverance in their present dangerous course. It must declare its positive and final resolution neither to alter nor modify this proceeding. It will yield no more to the entreaties or demands of the army; and if any officers are so situated, and so lost to every consideration of the public good and the general prosperity of their country, as not immediately, on the promulgation of this order, to abandon their present course of proceeding, Government must, however much it may deprecate such an extreme, meet it with that firmness and courage which becomes a constituted authority of the empire of Great Britain. It has contemplated this possible, though, it trusts, highly improbable event; and the different officers entrusted with command are directed, should any spirit of turbulence and insubordination appear among the officers of the troops under their command, to punish the individuals with all the severity of martial law. And should the operation of the regular course of justice be impeded, either by a combination among the officers or men, such will instantly be proclaimed rebels against the legal authority of Government and their country; as Government is perfectly satisfied that the public interests will receive more injury from any effort to con-

ciliate men who persevere (after what has passed) in principles so opposite to the restoration of order and discipline, than it ever can meet from them as open enemies to their King and country.'

"I am aware that a thousand objections may be made to an order of this nature; but it must only be tried by the times; matters have arrived at such a crisis, that something decided must instantly be done. There is not an hour for delay. And what I have suggested is only the first proclamation in a war that seems to me, even with this step, almost unavoidable. If human means could avoid it, this act will; for it holds out every motive that can incline men to good and deter them from evil. It concedes, no doubt, in some points; but the case is urgent, and the spirit of concession is corrected by the firmness and resolution which is mixed with it. But your own mind will suggest everything. I am, as you know, devoted to the cause of my country. It will depend upon you where I am to act, if matters draw to an extreme. I should prefer my station at Mysore, as that in which I have most influence, and could, in consequence, contribute most to the support of the public interests. I cannot conclude without again entreating you not to allow yourself to be lulled into security, and to be satisfied of the absolute necessity of taking some step or another to save the State from the imminent danger to which it is exposed. But inaction, even dangerous as it is, may be better than the commencement of a coercive system, before steps have been taken to gain more friends to Government than it has at present in the army: and I confess I can see no mode of doing this but by a measure which is completely decided and final; and which, while it grants every indulgence even to erroneous feelings, looks to the close of this great question with a moderate and conciliatory, but a firm and manly spirit."

Whilst this letter was being conveyed to Madras, Malcolm was steadily pursuing what he regarded as the object of his mission. He believed that it was his duty to exert himself to the utmost to conciliate the deluded officers of the garrison, without in any way lowering the dignity of the Government which he represented. They endeavoured to wring from him promises and pledges which he would not yield. But he mixed freely with

them—freely used the language of exhortation and persuasion—and again and again pointed out the horrible results of the unnatural contest they were provoking. He saw that they were oscillating between two opinions. There was no stability in their resolutions. They were moved by the violent appeals of the Hyderabad force, and afraid, by any concessions, to appear as though they had deserted their comrades. It was this alliance which surrounded Malcolm's duty with so much difficulty and perplexity. "If this were only a mutiny of the garrison of Masulipatam," he wrote, "it would be an easy question; and I should be proud to hazard my life in an effort to quell it to-morrow morning; but one step of any description taken in this affair at the present moment would undoubtedly cause a general rise of the army; and it is, I conceive, of ultimate importance that you should know and prepare for this great political danger; and I have, consequently, labored incessantly, and I hope with success, to prevent its breaking out at this most inflammable of all quarters."

Malcolm knew how great a thing it was in such a crisis to gain time. And in this, at least, he succeeded. But for his arrival, the Masulipatam force would have marched early in January to join their brother-mutineers of Jaulnah and Secunderabad. They deferred their march, as they declared, solely from respect to Malcolm's personal character; and he was pleased to see, as time advanced, that they showed by their conduct an increased respect both for him and for themselves. They abstained on social occasions from intruding the painful subject upon him, and for a while ceased from their toasts. But he did not delude himself into the belief that these were any signs of a permanent restoration to loyalty and good feeling. There was no hope, indeed, of this, whilst every post brought letters from the other rebellious stations,

the intent and tendency of which were to inflame to the highest pitch the evil passions of the mutineers of Masulipatam. But he knew that Government were not inactive in the direction of Hyderabad, and he felt that if he could hold back the garrison under his command, even for a time, the threatened combination might be entirely prevented.

In the mean while, he sought a favorable opportunity of addressing the European regiment. An appeal to the men against their officers he held to be a measure as little justifiable in principle, as it was likely to be successful in practice. "The garrison here," he wrote to Sir George Barlow, "is not more than 1100 effective men (exclusive of the artillery); and if an effort had been successful to detach the men from their officers, who are, to a man, combined against Government, it would not have prevented the explosion; it would but have increased that despair and madness which are impelling men to these acts of disobedience: and no partial benefit that could have arisen would have counterbalanced the general effect of this measure. Besides, I cannot speak with confidence of the success of this attempt: the *men even* of this garrison have been already debauched from their duty; and as it has been hitherto my object to reclaim the officers to their allegiance, and at all events to delay the execution of their plans, it was incompatible with the success of such a line of conduct to attempt to sound their men, or to make any private efforts to shake their attachment to their officers. Such attempts would have produced an instant open mutiny: and this, for causes before stated, I was anxious to avoid. Besides, such an expedient would have been baneful to the service, and was not to be resorted to while a hope remained of reclaiming the officers to a sense of their duty."

But an opportunity soon occurred of feeling the pulse

of the regiment. On the 14th of July, a regimental court-martial sentenced four men to be flogged. Early on the following morning, when the punishment-parade was assembled, and the crimes and sentences had been read, Malcolm, in that impressive moment, when even the sturdiest heart begins to sicken, addressed the men forming that terrible hollow-square in the following emphatic words:

“Regiment! As this is the first time I have met you upon such an occasion, I forgive these men: but I desire you will not mistake the motives of this act of lenity. It is my intention, as it is my duty, to enforce the strictest discipline: and I must punish those that merit it, not only to maintain the character of the corps, but to enable me to grant indulgences to the good men of it, which I never can do unless I punish the bad: but I trust, from what I have seen of your conduct, I shall have little occasion to exercise severity. It is, indeed, you must all feel, most incumbent upon you to preserve the utmost regularity and order at the present period. A late occurrence in the regiment, which has, I am satisfied, been solely produced by misapprehension and misrepresentation, is on the point of becoming a subject of investigation before a military court, who will inquire into the causes by which it was produced. I shall, therefore, say nothing on that subject: but I consider it my duty to declare to you at this moment, that it never was in the contemplation of Government to disband or disperse this corps, and that it never meant to employ any officer or man of the regiment in any manner or upon any service but such as was suited to the honor and character of British soldiers, and which it, of course, conceived both officers and men would be forward to proceed upon. It was, soldiers, from a full conviction that a serious misunderstanding alone of the intentions of Government could have caused what has passed, that made me receive with pride and gratification my nomination to the command of this regiment: and I am convinced, from what I have already seen, that I shall (whenever I quit that station) have to make a report which will add, if possible, to the high reputation which the corps already enjoys, and satisfy all, that as it is the first in rank of the infantry of this establishment, it is also first in fidelity,

loyalty, and attachment to the Government it serves, and to its King and country."

The address was favorably received. Malcolm had been only waiting for an opportunity thus publicly to declare that Government had never entertained an idea of disbanding the regiment. It was thought afterwards that the declaration ought to have been made before; but it is not easy at a distance to compute all those nice circumstances and delicate considerations which, in such a conjuncture, make up the sum of a fitting opportunity. The right thing done at the wrong time may be the wrong thing. Malcolm felt confident that he did the right thing at the right time.

In the mean while answers to his first letters were travelling up from Madras. Simultaneously with his appointment to the command of the European regiment and the garrison of Masulipatam he had been nominated president of a committee appointed to inquire into the circumstances under which Colonel Innes had been forcibly removed from the command of the corps. The two other members who were to have accompanied or immediately followed him to Masulipatam fell sick; so Malcolm, in the first letter he received from Government, was authorised to prosecute the inquiry by himself. In this letter he was commended for the measures he had adopted on his first arrival; but the next letter indicated that Sir George Barlow was not disposed to adopt the conciliatory course of conduct which Malcolm had recommended. "Sir George Barlow," wrote the Military Secretary, "desires me to express to you his thanks for the very unreserved manner in which you have communicated to him your opinion of this important subject. After the maturest consideration, he cannot satisfy his mind of the policy of the course of measures which you

have recommended for his adoption. You have, indeed, been long apprised of the sentiments of Sir George Barlow with regard to that course of policy; and the information which you have now communicated to him, instead of altering these sentiments, has confirmed him, in his opinion of the necessity of maintaining the authority of the Government with unshaken firmness and resolution."

This letter was written on the 12th of July. It reached Malcolm on the 17th. It was plain to him now, either that he and Sir George Barlow were hopelessly at variance, or that they did not understand one another. One thing, however, was certain. Malcolm was in possession of information relative to the feelings and intentions of the mutinous officers, with which, in all its length and breadth, the Governor of Madras was not acquainted; and as it was probable, in Malcolm's estimation, that a fuller knowledge of all these circumstances would cause Barlow to modify his views, he wrote off at once to suggest the expediency of personal communication :

"If I did not consider," he said, "the present as one of the most serious crises that ever this empire was placed in, I certainly should not again intrude myself on your notice; but I feel bold in the consciousness that I am performing a duty of the most sacred nature; and you will, I am assured, pardon the earnestness with which I solicit leave to be allowed to report to you personally the result of the proceedings here, and of all I have seen or heard connected with the general combination in the army, as well as those means by which I think it may be averted, or its objects, if it does not occur, in some degree defeated. It is quite impossible for me to convey to you in any letter the extensive information I now possess upon this subject; and I should only be four days in going to Madras, and could return, if required, with equal celerity. Little time would be lost by my making this journey; and I feel satisfied its results might be of the utmost consequence to the

public interests. Major-General Pater will be here the day after to-morrow; and no inconvenience could result from the want of a high military authority; but I would not of course proceed, if I thought that there was any urgent call for my remaining here. But such a trip would, I am assured, tend to calm instead of irritating men's minds; as they would suppose that I had gone to make a full representation of all that had passed and all that I have observed. I entreat you to pay attention to this earnest request; and if you do that, you will order Colonel Barclay to station bearers as far as Migool. I shall lay them to that place in the confidence that your kindness will not deny this opportunity of endeavouring to promote the public interests by important communications."

But although Sir George Barlow scouted the idea of conciliatory measures, there were many able and experienced officers who believed that only such measures could be applied with success to the existing evil. No man had more friends, or a wider circle of correspondents, than Malcolm. No sooner had it become apparent that violent convulsions were threatening to disorganise the whole body of the Coast Army, than Malcolm, in default of the possibility of bringing his direct personal influence to bear upon more than one place at the same time, scattered about in every direction his epistolary appeals to the good sense and the good feelings of his comrades and friends. From Masulipatam, too, he wrote frequent letters of this description, which he showed to the officers of the garrison. The more violently disposed of the Hyderabad conspirators, alarmed by his appearance at Masulipatam, wrote to caution their brother-rebels against Malcolm, whom they described as a thorough diplomatist, and a man of such consummate address that he would detach them from the good cause before they were aware of it. But there were others who wrote to Malcolm himself in a widely different strain, declaring

emphatically their belief that the happiest results would flow from Malcolm's mission, and the conciliatory course of conduct which he proposed to pursue.*

But whether these anticipations were right or wrong, such were not the views of Sir George Barlow—such was not the line of proceeding which *he* believed to be the line of duty. General Pater arrived at Masulipatam, and Malcolm took post for Madras. Starting on the 22nd of July, he made another of his rapid palanquin-journeys, and reached the Presidency on the 26th. He saw at once that during his absence other councils had prevailed—nay, more, that in the estimation of Government he had wholly missed the mark of success. Sir George Barlow received him coldly, and discussed his conduct disapprovingly; and, after that first interview, closed his doors against him for ever. A totally opposite system of policy was now on the ascendant. Barlow

* One officer of rank wrote to him : "I am sanguine that you will not meet with any unreasonable opposition to the conciliatory but sound arguments which your own understanding, your knowledge of mankind, and your own feelings will suggest to you. I felt no small degree of satisfaction in perusing the General Order appointing you to the regiment; because I truly anticipate the happiest termination to the discontent which now agitates the whole army. And matters appear to me now to have been carried to such an extreme, that it would be as easy to turn the stream of the Godavery to the north-west as to succeed by a system of compulsion and terror to dissuade the captains and subalterns of the Coast Army (even if unassisted by the field-officers, which is not the case) against feeling a disposition to resist what they conceive to be great injuries. Nothing now remains but measures of a conciliatory nature."

Another of Malcolm's correspondents thus wrote regarding the good effects which he anticipated from the circu-

lation of Malcolm's letters : "The horrid intelligence to which I alluded was the solemn determination of the officers of the Subsidiary Force at Secunderabad, as well as at Jaulnah, to march to the support of the officers at Masulipatam, should Government attempt to use force against them—and which intelligence I had been made acquainted with in a very extraordinary manner. I immediately made known the contents of your letter to me to all parties here, and I am happy to say that it is a subject of universal congratulation. Indeed, I think I may venture to prognosticate that if Sir George will only persevere in the plan he has now adopted, his friends and supporters will daily increase, and the wild and dreadful schemes of his opponents be completely frustrated. Remember that the whole army have their eyes now fixed on you and affairs in your quarter. I am certain that you will, and the happiest results may be expected." Other letters to a like effect might be quoted.

had determined to dragoon down insurrection—to show the misguided officers the danger of arraying themselves against constituted authority ; and already had he begun to strike panic and disorder into their ranks. The crisis, indeed, was a fearful one. It demanded the highest resolution to manage it aright. Looking back, coolly and dispassionately, after the lapse of nearly half a century, at this momentous epoch, we may still hesitate to decide whether (viewed without regard to the event) the policy recommended by Malcolm or that pursued by Barlow were, at the time, the wiser of the two. Either course, in such a conjuncture, might well have had its advocates. The verdict of the higher authorities was on the side of Barlow ; for the event fully justified the act. His policy, too, had a higher merit than that of success. It was distinguished by the firmest courage, under the pressure of circumstances which, without disgrace, might have appalled the stoutest heart in the country.

It is matter of history that Sir George Barlow called upon the officers of the Madras army to sign a declaration of loyalty, under a penalty of dismissal from all command if they refused compliance with the test ; that he ordered all the Native officers of the army to be assembled, and full explanations made to them of the circumstances under which this test had been submitted to the European officers ; that at the same time it was to be impressed upon them and the Native troops generally that their first duty was to the Government, and that to follow their misguided officers would be to compass their own destruction ; and that Barlow resolutely determined, should opposition be made to these orders, to march the loyal part of the army (and he could rely upon the King's troops to a man) against their rebellious comrades. It is matter of history how these measures were

successful in the southern part of the Presidency ; how the King's and Company's troops were actually brought into bloody collision at Seringapatam ; and how Colonel Close was despatched to Hyderabad, fortified by instructions, and armed with authority from Government, to bring the Subsidiary Force to order and obedience.

When Malcolm arrived at Madras these measures were yet in progress of execution, and the result of them was uncertain. He did not believe that they would succeed. He could not conscientiously bring himself either to express approbation of such a policy or to take any part in its practical development. He desired, therefore, to retire from the scene. The field of Persian diplomacy was again open to him. Lord Minto had written that the course of events in that country seemed now to render it expedient that Malcolm should proceed thither without delay. So on the 1st of August the latter wrote the following respectful, but manly letter to the Governor, asking permission to withdraw from a scene in which he could no longer be useful to the State :

COLONEL MALCOLM TO SIR GEORGE BARLOW.

(Private and confidential.)

Madras, Aug. 1, 1809.

DEAR SIR,—I have this day transmitted a report of the result of my investigation into the conduct of the garrison of Masulipatam to Major-General Gowdie, and an official statement to you of my proceedings at that place. I trust both these letters will meet with your approbation, and that you will see in them the same anxious desire that I have ever shown to satisfy my superiors that I have discharged my public duties to the best of my ability.

I have received another letter from Lord Minto since I had the honor of seeing you, informing me that Sir Harford Jones has not left Teheran, but that circumstance has only confirmed his Lordship regarding the necessity of my immediate mission to Persia,

and he has actually sent a letter to the King, by Mr. Jukes, to inform his Majesty of his intention of deputing me to his Court, and I am to proceed the moment an answer is received, which will probably be early in October. Under such circumstances I trust you will have no objection to my proceeding immediately to Calcutta, as it is indispensable I should see Lord Minto before I go to Persia; and, from the state of the season, I cannot go at all without losing several months.

I cannot but have been flattered by the confidence which you have always shown me, and your conduct in this particular demands from me a candid and full private declaration of every sentiment by which my mind is actuated in a crisis like the present; and it is a sense of this obligation alone that could make me think it necessary to intrude at such a period a subject of so personal a nature upon your attention. I must, therefore, with the same freedom with which your kindness has always allowed me to express my sentiments, declare that, urgent as I consider the service that requires me to go to Calcutta, I would not think of requesting your leave to proceed there if I had the most distant idea that I could be of the slightest use by remaining in this quarter; but I am quite convinced I cannot. No man is more aware of the imperious nature of public duty than I am, and while I remain a public servant no consideration upon earth would induce me to swerve from the path of personal respect and of implicit obedience to that constituted authority of my country under which I am placed; but the large and important duties I have to perform demand more than this—they require a warm, active, and devoted zeal, and a perfect accord in the mind of the agent with the measures he has to execute; and no officer that fills a high and confidential situation, whatever may be his experience or his ability, is fit to be employed in such times as the present unless all his sentiments are in unison with those of the superior under whom he acts. This is a principle by which my conduct has been regulated ever since I was elevated to the rank I now hold in the public service. I had occasion to express it upon a very trying occasion to Lord Wellesley, and it was honored with his fullest approbation. I acted upon it in consequence of being informed I should be called upon to execute certain measures under the administration of the late Marquis Cornwallis; and when you succeeded to the supreme government you were far

from censuring the line I had adopted; and it is from this knowledge of your personal consideration to me that I feel emboldened to state, in that confidence with which I have always been required by you to communicate my opinions, that with the sentiments I entertain upon the course of action and policy now in progress, and its probable effects both upon the service of the Company and the public interests, that I am altogether unqualified to be a confidential or principal agent in any part of its execution. I entreat that you will not mistake the intent of the expression of this opinion. It is given to account to you for my personal conduct, and it is communicated in that spirit of unreserved confidence which your kindness has ever allowed me to use towards you; but I am far from arrogating to myself the most distant right to question either the expediency or policy of the line you are pursuing—your superior wisdom no doubt points out to you the measures that are most proper for the emergency, and you are fulfilling the high duties of your station when you act agreeably to the dictates of your own judgment; all I claim is your indulgence for my feelings, and a pardon for this free expression of my sentiments.

You are no stranger to that enthusiasm with which I embarked in the present scene, and whatever has been my success I am assured that you are satisfied I have not been deficient in zeal in the exertion of my humble endeavours to reclaim my brother-officers to temper and to the path of duty; and I indulged, to the very moment of my arrival at Madras from Masulipatam, a hope that this great object of your solicitude would be effected without having recourse to coercive measures, or, at least, that a great proportion of the officers of the Company's army (including almost all who had weight and influence with the men) would be recovered, and that the early submission of the rest would have been a certain consequence of the return of their seniors to their duty.

The highly criminal violence of the force at Hyderabad (which is known to the whole army to be guided by weak and wrong-headed men) has unfortunately precipitated a very different issue to that which I was so sanguine as to expect. That force has declared that they speak the sentiments of the whole, or at least those of a great proportion, of the Madras army, though it is evident at the moment they made such an assertion they could not have received an answer from any station to that absurd

paper which they term an *ultimatum*, which they have had the audacity to forward to Government, but which I conscientiously believe would (if it had been publicly promulgated) have been disowned and disclaimed by great numbers of the senior and most respectable officers at every station in the army. I can speak positively with regard to some, indeed all, of the senior officers of the garrison of Masulipatam upon this subject, and they have lately been considered as the most violent of the whole. I am far from meaning (such meaning would, indeed, be as contrary to that high respect I have ever entertained for your character as to the duties of my situation) to offer even an opinion on the wisdom and policy of that step which Government has lately adopted with the Company's officers of this establishment. The test these were required to sign was, as far as I understood it, a mere repetition of the obligations of the commission that every one of them held, and the only rational objection that could be made to it by men who were devoted to their duty, and who had never deviated from it in thought, word, and deed, was, that it was unnecessary; that it was, with regard to them at least, an act of supererogation, and one that had a taint of suspicion in it. These were, indeed, the feelings that passed in my mind when this paper was first put into my hands, but they were instantly subdued by a paramount sense of public duty, and I signed it to show (as far as my example could show) my perfect acquiescence in a measure which the Government I served had thought proper to adopt. But I am satisfied it was not the terms of this paper which led the great majority of the Company's officers, both in Camp and at the Mount, and in the garrison of Madras, to refuse their signatures; it was the manner in which it was presented, and the circumstances by which the whole proceeding was accompanied. The minds of the most honorable and of the most attached to Government and to their country revolted more at the mode than the substance of the act. They felt (perhaps erroneously) that they were disgraced, because the manner in which their consent was asked showed they were not in the least trusted; and this was, I am assured, one of the chief causes of their almost general rejection of this proposed test of fidelity. It appears to me of the greatest importance that you should be aware of every feeling that this proceeding excited, and it is in discharge of the duties of that friendship with which you have ever honored me that I have

stated my sentiments so freely upon this subject. I am very intimately acquainted with a great number of the officers of whom I speak. Some of them would, I am certain, have given their lives for Government at the very moment they refused to give a pledge which they thought, from the mode in which it was proposed, reflected upon their honor; and others, who had unfortunately gone to a certain extent in the late culpable and unmilitary proceedings, but who viewed the criminal excesses of some of their brother-officers with undisguised horror and indignation, would, I am assured, if it had been possible for Government to have pardoned what was past, and to have expressed in indulgent language its kind intentions for the future, have been the most forward in their efforts to punish those who, by an unwarrantable perseverance in a guilty career, merited all the wrath of the State; but unfortunately (though such an intention, I am assured, never entered into your mind) an almost general sentiment prevailed that it was meant the service should be destroyed by the first blow, and that all were, therefore, included in one general mass as just objects of suspicion and disgrace.

I am far from defending such an interpretation of this measure of Government. I have only stated what I considered to be the fact, and explained, as far as I could, those causes by which I believe it to have been produced; their operation is, I fear, now almost irremediable, and events must take their course. I know (and my personal conduct has proved it) that my brother-officers are deeply wrong, and I am quite heart-broken when I reflect on the consequences to themselves and country which the guilt of some of them is likely to produce. I need not assure you of my sincere happiness at the success which has hitherto attended the execution of the measure you have adopted, and I anxiously hope it may meet with no opposition. I have never doubted the success of this measure (if it was resorted to) as far as related to the accomplishment of its immediate object, and most earnestly pray that my judgment may have deceived me with regard to the collateral and remote consequences by which I have always deemed it likely to be attended. It is necessary I should inform you that I applied, between three and four months ago, to Lord Minto for leave to go to England, and that nothing can induce me to remain beyond October except to fulfil a promise I made his Lordship to go to Persia if he thought it indispensable that I

should. Under such circumstances it can be no sacrifice of private interest to resign immediately my station as Resident at Mysore; and it may, perhaps, be your wish that the person in charge of that station at a moment like the present should be a permanent Resident. This is a point, however, that will entirely be decided by your own judgment.

I cannot conclude this long letter without again entreating your pardon and indulgence for that great freedom with which considerations of personal feeling and public duty have led me to express my sentiments.

I am, &c., &c.,

JOHN MALCOLM.

Resolutely and conscientiously did Malcolm cling to the opinion that justice and expediency both demanded the adoption of conciliatory measures. It cost him much, however, to adhere to a course which had now been scouted, disgraced, and abandoned. There were not wanting men of high character and intelligence who endeavoured to persuade him that the conciliatory system having been tried (though it may be doubted whether it ever had been fairly tried), he might now consent, without any sacrifice of consistency, to become the agent of a more vigorous policy. Foremost amongst these, too, was the man whom, of all others, perhaps, in India, he most respected. Colonel Close was not only the advocate but the agent also of the coercive system of Sir George Barlow. He had performed his part with a vigor and an address which, if he had done nothing else to earn the distinction, would have placed him in the front rank of the heroes of Indian history; and it was with no common regret that he now saw how widely Malcolm's opinions differed from his own.

"When you departed for Masulipatam," he wrote on the 15th of August, "you do not seem to have understood sufficiently the line of proceeding which Sir George Barlow had it in mind to

pursue. This I consider as extremely unfortunate, as it led you to propose a plan of proceeding to him which he was little inclined to adopt, and the result is a little soreness, which is, perhaps, mutual. You have made the only explanation which was possible to Sir George, namely, that you were not master of his intended line of proceeding; but it does not appear to me to follow, that, because you observed a conciliatory mode of conduct at Masulipatam, conceiving that you were acting all along according to the wishes and intentions of Government, therefore, since that conduct failed of effect, you should not give in to a coercive mode of action as *that* only calculated at the present stage of affairs to serve the public cause by restoring obedience and order. In the civil disputes in Ireland, Lord Cornwallis first endeavoured to conciliate the malcontents; but finding that this plan failed, he coerced them with vigor and reduced them to submission. Two points appear to me to be evident: first, that as the malcontents on the Coast continue to hold out, they ought to be coerced; and secondly, that Government is so powerful in means as to be able to coerce them."

To a certain extent, perhaps, Malcolm might have assented to this. He believed that "if the malcontents continued to hold out"—*after Government had proclaimed a general amnesty*—"they ought to be coerced." But he was eager that the past should be buried in oblivion; that no single source of irritation should remain. Full of this desire, the growth of a tender compassion for the misguided men who had fallen from their allegiance, but who yet might do their duty for years as brave soldiers and loyal servants of the State, he addressed, a few days before the receipt of Close's letter, the following appeal to Sir George Barlow:

COLONEL MALCOLM TO SIR GEORGE BARLOW.

Madras, Aug. 18, 1809, 9 P.M.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote a note to Colonel Barclay some hours ago, which he informed me he sent to you for perusal. I have since received a letter from Masulipatam, at which place they are

between hope and despair, but have refrained from further guilt, and mean to refrain, unless called upon by those who have now (thank God!) shown them an example of returning to their duty. I am assured you will not blame that extreme anxiety which makes me intrude unasked my opinion at a moment like the present. I have, I am satisfied, the fullest information of the real temper of the army at the present period; and if I am not the most deceived man in the world, there is an opportunity given by the conduct of the Hyderabad force which enables you to combine the immediate and complete settlement of these afflicting troubles with the advancement of the reputation, power, and dignity of Government. I am aware of the very deep guilt into which almost all have gone—some in intention, others in act—but the force at Hyderabad, who since the 1st of May have been the cause of all the present evils, and who lately insulted Government with demands, are now supplicating clemency. A dreadful example has occurred in Mysore, which must make a lasting impression on both officers and Sepoys, of the horrors to which such illegal combinations lead. If it were possible to close the scene here, an example must be given that will for ever prevent the repetition of such crimes; and the effect of shame and contrition which the clemency and magnanimity of Government must produce, will have more effect on the minds of liberal men than twenty examples. Men's minds will be at once reclaimed, and they will be fixed in their attachment by a better motive than fear. But this is not all. The officers at Hyderabad, like those at other stations, act at the present crisis entirely from the impulse of passion and feeling; and they fly, as I have witnessed, from one extreme to another with a facility which is not to be credited by persons under the influence of sound reason. Such men can never be depended upon, whatever pledges they make, while any strong causes of agitation remain; and no act, therefore, which does not embrace the whole can give that complete security and tranquillity which is the object of desire. If a single question of irritation and inflammation is left, it is a spark which may again create a general explosion. You will, I am assured, pardon this communication. Nothing could have induced me to the freedom but a conviction that this is one of those happy moments when all the dangers that threaten us can be dissipated. If you can, on the

ground of your granting that clemency to supplication which you never would to demand; of military justice being satisfied and the army lessoned by the dreadful example that has been made in Mysore; and if you think it not derogatory, at such a moment, to grant a general amnesty and to bury the past in oblivion, desiring all those who mean to perform their duty to join their corps, and those who do not to consider themselves out of the service, and proclaiming every man a traitor and liable to immediate execution who opposes legal authority one hour after the receipt of this order, I will answer with my life for the immediate re-establishment of the public authority on more secure grounds than perhaps it ever rested. Such an act as this will, I am assured, while it advances the fame and dignity of Government, raise your own reputation in the highest degree, and you will receive, as you will merit, the blessings of thousands with the applause of your country.

I have, perhaps, already said too much upon this subject; but I could adduce many more forcible reasons to those I have urged; but I shall not trouble you further. If you think the suggestions I have offered worthy of any attention, I shall attend you and state them (more fully). With regard to the success of this measure I cannot have a doubt. If all did not immediately submit, they would be completely disunited; and those who ventured to oppose, if there were any such, would be the proper objects for example.

I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,

JOHN MALCOLM.

To this no answer was returned. Other councils had prevailed. Other measures were in progress. An amnesty so universal as this was not to be declared. It was the opinion of Sir George Barlow that the offended dignity of Government required that some examples should be made—that the law should assert itself, mildly and sparingly, but with effect. Already were the officers returning to their allegiance. They saw the hopelessness of the contest; they saw that the King's troops would act against them, as at Seringapatam, and dragoon down rebellion with the sabre's edge. Lord Minto, too, was

coming round from Calcutta, to take upon himself, if necessary, the final settlement of this ill-omened affair. At all events, Sir George Barlow felt that he had no longer any need of the services or of the advice of Colonel John Malcolm.

Here, then, we might cease to speak altogether of the Madras mutiny, for here Malcolm's connexion with it may be said to have terminated. But long after the officers of the Madras army had returned to their allegiance the contest furnished an unhappy subject of historical controversy of the most acrimonious kind. In these painful discussions Malcolm was compelled, in self-defence, to take a part. Whilst he was yet at Madras, in September, 1809, the Governor in Council despatched a long letter to the Secret Committee relating to the disturbances on the coast—a letter in which the following paragraphs occur :

“ On receiving intelligence of the mutiny (at Masulipatam) we appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm, in whose zeal and talents we entertained the fullest confidence, to the command of the Madras European regiment and of the garrison of Masulipatam, for the purpose of re-establishing the authority of Government over the troops, inquiring into the causes of the mutiny, and placing the most guilty of the offenders under arrest. Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm was not furnished with any written instructions. It was left to his discretion to adopt such measures as circumstances might render advisable, with the view to the accomplishment of the objects of his deputation.

“ Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm immediately proceeded by sea to Masulipatam. On his arrival he found that the officers of the garrison had formed themselves into a committee, in which every officer had a voice. The greatest anarchy and confusion prevailed, and it was with difficulty that he prevailed on the officers to acknowledge his authority.

“ As it was never in the contemplation of the Government to disband the European regiment, it was expected that Lieutenant-

Colonel Malcolm would have taken the earliest opportunity to communicate to the men a distinct and public disavowal of that intention on the part of the Government, and have employed the most strenuous exertions to recall the men to a sense of their duty, by impressing upon their minds the degree of guilt and danger in which their officers, for purposes entirely personal to themselves, had endeavoured to involve them. It was also expected that Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm, by establishing his influence and authority over the troops composing the garrison, would have secured their obedience, and by that means have deprived the officers of the power of prosecuting their designs, and brought the leaders to trial for their mutinous conduct.

“Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm appears, however, to have adopted a course of proceeding entirely different from that which we had in view in deputing him to Masulipatam. He abstained from making any direct communication to the men, and when we authorised him, with the view of detaching the troops from the cause of their officers, to proclaim a pardon to the European and Native soldiers for the part which they might have taken in the mutiny, he judged it to be proper to withhold the promulgation of the pardon from an apprehension (as stated in his letter to our President, dated the 18th July) of irritating the minds of the European officers, and driving them to despair.

“To this apparently unreasonable forbearance, and attention to the feelings of officers who had, by their acts of violence and aggression, forfeited all claims to such consideration, may, we conceive, be ascribed Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm’s failure in the establishment of any efficient control over the garrison; and he appears to have been principally occupied during the period of his residence at Masulipatam in negotiations with the disorderly committees, calculated, in our opinion, to compromise rather than establish his authority, and in fruitless attempts to induce them by argument to return to their duty and abandon the criminal combination in which they had engaged.”

It was not until some three years after these paragraphs were written that Malcolm was made aware of their existence on the records of Government. They were then drawn forth by order of Parliament from the

archives of the India House, and published among a mass of other papers relating to the Madras mutiny. They stung Malcolm to the quick. The charge which they contained was a grave one. He had either disobeyed or misunderstood orders. The statement implied that he had acted contrary to the declared wishes of Government. In either case, of disobedience or miscomprehension, he had proved himself, by his contumacy or his stolidity, unworthy of the confidence that had been reposed in him; and this sentence was now to pass into the hands of every one who might interest himself in Indian affairs. What could he do in justice to himself, to his family, and the great cause of historical truth, but vindicate the reputation which was thus assailed by the Government which he had served at least with fidelity and zeal?

The best reply, the best defence, was a plain recital of facts. Malcolm sat down and wrote a narrative of the proceedings to which this chapter is devoted. He showed that he had neither disobeyed nor misunderstood orders. He had clearly stated his opinions to Sir George Barlow and to the chief officers of the Staff before he embarked for Masulipatam. He had gone there expressly and declaredly to follow a conciliatory course of conduct, and under no other circumstances would he have undertaken the mission at all. He may have been right or he may have been wrong in this decision, but whatever were his views he made no secrets of them; and it seems hardly possible to believe that he took his departure from Madras leaving behind him an impression that he was about to carry out a line of policy against which he had remonstrated with so much vehemence that he almost involved himself in a personal quarrel with one of the principal officers of the Staff and chief advocates of the dragooning system.

It was stated by the Madras Government that Malcolm had abstained from making any direct communication to the men. But he took what he believed to be the first good opportunity of addressing them on parade. It was the opinion also of Government that, at an early stage of his proceedings, he ought to have endeavoured to detach the men from their officers, and thus to have overawed the latter. But Malcolm believed that such a course was as vicious in principle as it was dangerous in practice, and he recoiled from it with horror. The question here involved is one of the deepest interest even in quiet times. We may surmise, therefore, with what earnestness it was discussed at a period when the civil power was threatened by a rebellious army, and the very existence of Government was at stake.

At the head of those who differed from him was Colonel Close, a man whose judgment was as clear as his action was vigorous; but it was no small consolation to Malcolm to know, on the other hand, that Sir James Mackintosh shared his opinions, and warmly approved his conduct. Such letters as the following, in which the whole question is discussed, must have had, in such a conjuncture, an invigorating and sustaining effect:

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH TO COLONEL MALCOLM.

Bombay, Aug. 20, 1809.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have written you only two or three scraps since you left this place, because I knew too little of what occupied your mind to speak about it, and I was sure that every other subject would be for the time uninteresting. But I can no longer forbear from thanking you for the communication of the letter from Masulipatam, through Colonel Close, and of the papers, through Pasley, especially your letter of the 1st instant to Sir George Barlow. These remembrances at such a time are in themselves most gratifying; but they are of such a nature as to have greatly heightened their own value. To be so remembered

by a person who acts and writes as the last paper shows you to have done, is, I assure you, a distinction of which I shall never cease to be proud. That paper would have raised my opinion of you, if that were now possible. But in all the larger features of your conduct it has only realised my expectations. In some smaller points you have gone beyond them. I really should be at a loss to point out so respectful an assertion of independence. The exact propriety of your conduct will for the present be most strongly proved by the degree in which the advocates of violence on all sides will blame it. The time will come when the army will distinguish incendiaries from friends, and the Government councillors from sycophants. Then you will have another more agreeable, though not a more decisive, proof of your rectitude.

From the moment I heard the measures adopted towards the officers at and near Madras, I was perfectly certain that your councils no longer prevailed; and it was with no small pleasure that I heard of your being in a sort of disgrace at Court.

I conceived that the first indispensable requisite to the consideration of such an expedient was the absolute certainty of its immediate, universal, and permanent success. Of this I much doubted; and the fatal events which have occurred at Hyderabad and other places seem to show that my doubts were reasonable.

But this appeared to me, I will confess, a secondary question. I considered the success of such a measure as a great public calamity. I waive the impolicy of a measure which seemed to be contrived for the express purpose of imposing rebellion upon the officers as a point of honor, and of afterwards involving them in indiscriminate proscription. All these and many other considerations respecting the officers, however important, seem to be inferior.

An appeal to the privates against their immediate superiors is a wound in the vitals of an army. The relation of the private soldier to the subaltern is the keystone of the arch. An army may survive any other change, but to dissolve that relation is to dissolve the whole. There begins the obedience of the many to the few. In civil society this problem appears of most difficult solution. But there it is the obedience of the dispersed and unarmed many. It is rare, and in well-regulated communities almost unfelt. In military bodies it is the hourly obedience, even to death, of the armed and embodied many. The higher

links which bind subalterns to their superiors, and these to one chief, are only the obediences of the few to a fewer, and of these fewer to one. These things are easily intelligible. Honor and obvious interest are sufficient to account for them. But the obedience of the whole body of soldiers to their immediate officers is that which forms an army, and which cannot be disturbed without the utmost danger of its total destruction. Remember what our master* has said of the French: "They have begun by a most terrible operation. They have touched the central point about which the particles that compose armies are at repose." All that is said on armies will reward you for a reperusal. It is towards the latter part of the *Reflections*.

But it may, perhaps, be said that this was a case of necessity; and that when the alternative exists the army must be sacrificed to the state, for which alone it exists. It must first, however, be shown that no other means were possible. It must, secondly, be considered that the destruction of the army may be a greater evil than the mere weakening of the civil authority, and that the proper opposition is the destruction of the Government or the destruction of the army. Finally, it must be remembered that we are here to apply our principle to a country which we only hold by an army, and where the dissolution of the army must be, in fact, the destruction of the State.

You will not suspect me of underrating the mischiefs which attend military revolutions and deliberative armies. I detest them from principle, from reason, from habit, and from prejudice. But if I am asked whether the deposition of a governor by military force or an appeal to private soldiers against their officers be the greater evil, I am compelled to own that I must hesitate; and that if I were to confess the inclination of my mind in such a terrible dilemma, I might be accused, though most unjustly, of less zeal for the maintenance of the supremacy of the civil power than was to be expected from my opinions or my station. If this be in the least doubtful, it must be most certain that any compromise with British officers is a less evil than an appeal to sepoys or to rajahs. I trust in God that before this time sounder counsels have been adopted, and that India has been saved from the

* Burke, of whom Malcolm was as great an admirer as Mackintosh.

greatest as well as the most imminent danger that ever hung over it.

My heart is refreshed by the prospect of seeing you again. Fanny* is very impatient to renew her Hindostanee dialogues with you; and Robert* will be *bote cooshee* (much pleased) to see you. My friends in England condemn me to a longer absence—indeed, I can hardly say how long. But of this more when we meet.

Ever most affectionately yours,

J. MACKINTOSH.

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH TO COLONEL MALCOLM.

Bombay, Sept. 16, 1809.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Your letter of the 2nd I received yesterday, and am now looking forward with great anxiety for your promised papers, as well as for the decision of Lord Minto, on which the permanent existence of the British power in India seems to me in a great measure to depend. Perhaps the most consummate wisdom may fail in healing these fatal wounds. But if a whole army be treated as delinquents, if any system be adopted by which the Madras officers are to be considered as a proscribed or even degraded caste—then I think that every man who looks beyond the moment must see the axe applied to the root of our Indian empire. I hope that a man of great abilities and humane disposition, like Lord Minto, will be disposed, by his character as well as his understanding, to healing counsels.

Your influence over him will be the first criterion by which I shall estimate the safety of this measure. If you have that ascendancy over him which you ought to have, I shall not despair of the commonwealth. A medium in this respect will, probably, be difficult for you to preserve. If your principles be not prevalent, you may be obliged to withdraw from the appearance of a participation in counsels you cannot approve, according to the principles so admirably laid down in your letter to Sir G. B. of the 1st of August. In such a case there would certainly be a strong temptation to you to go to England, to lay the important information in your possession before those who might even then

* Sir James Mackintosh's children.

turn it to some account. Your extensive information on these late unfortunate events, your insight into those circumstances in the situation of the army which you foresaw and foretold would produce some unfortunate effects, and your being the only eminent person in India who could be called truly impartial, would certainly give you a weight to which no other individual could pretend. If you yield to these temptations, I shall lose one of the very, very few out of my own family to whom I look in India with sentiments of confidence. But I must endeavour to console myself with the hope that our friendship and intercourse would continue, and that your absence would enable you to do more justice to yourself and more service to your country. If you withstand them, and accept Lord M.'s confidence in the affairs of Persia, without perfectly enjoying it in those of Madras, you will do an act which will, I am sure, require all your generosity.

Ever yours affectionately,

J. MACKINTOSH.

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH TO COLONEL MALCOLM.

Tarala, Dec. 2, 1809.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—I have read your papers on the late unhappy state of the Madras army with great instruction and with feelings of pride that one for whom I have such a friendship should, on so difficult an occasion, act, in my opinion, with an exact propriety which few of the wisest men have, in such circumstances, been able to retain. There is no part of your reasoning to which I do not assent, or of your conduct in which I do not exult. You appear to me to have demonstrated—

1. That in the middle of July the fatal delusion of the officers of the Madras army had presented four possible events to the contemplation and almost to the choice of Government;—the subversion of the civil power, the destruction of the first British army in India, a civil war of uncertain termination, or a conciliatory measure on the part of the Government, which might have brought back at least the majority of the officers to reason.

2. That the Government might then have adopted such a conciliatory measure as would, in all probability, have reclaimed the most numerous or the most leading part of the officers with a



sacrifice of dignity very slight compared with the dangers of contest or the evils of victory.

3. That in rejecting such measures at such a time the Government entered on a contest where even their success was not certain; where that success did, in fact, arise from many causes quite independent of their policy; and where it has been procured by the dreadful price of an appeal to sepoys against their officers, of native powers against our own army, and to the King's troops against the Company's, at the risk, or rather with the certainty, of sharpening that animosity between them which it requires the greatest wisdom to lay asleep, and of teaching the King's troops to consider the Company's with more disrespect, and the Company's to regard the King's with more jealousy. It appears to me that these proceedings have struck at the vitals of military subordination, that they have set to native powers an example of interference in our dispute, and that they have increased tenfold the dangers inseparable from a double military establishment. If, however, they had been indispensably necessary to avert the subversion of Government, I should have lamented without disapproving of them. But I cannot read your suggestions from Masulipatam without considering them in a different light. That you, who have taken so conspicuous a part in disputes which so much interest the passions, should be an object of attack, is not to be wondered at. You will, perhaps, be surprised to learn that I, for having, in the liberty of confidential conversation, professed some of your opinions, have been the object of calumny.

In consequence, as I have been informed, of a report made of my conversation after dinner, by an old field-officer, and by an officer of General Jones's family, the General was pleased to speak of me as having prevented several officers in this army from having subscribed the test proposed to them; and immediately after, with that gentlemanlike and chivalrous spirit which I have experienced more than once here, Lady Mackintosh was excluded from all the parties, so large as to make the exclusion quite marked, given to General and Mrs. Jones on their departure. The persons who excluded us from these parties on such grounds were persons to whom I had behaved with uniform civility, and who could not pretend to allege the slightest private complaint:—many of them, I acknowledge, entitled to be believed if they

alleged that they misunderstood language sufficiently plain to all men of tolerable understanding. Their privileges of that sort are large. But I think that it would have been more modest if they had supposed it possible that a person who had spent many years in reflection on the means and principle of civil and military obedience might differ from them without criminality; that it would have been more decent if they had been slow to charge with disaffection the chief legal and judicial servant of his Majesty in this Government; and that it would have been more gracious if they had not confined their observations to the only person who was under an official necessity, as well as a moral obligation, not to resent them, while other very considerable numbers of this community, who thought and spoke much more freely than I did, were suffered to pass by without observation. I say nothing of the womanly and peculiarly unofficer-like practice of betraying private conversation; for if mine had been fairly represented and properly understood, I had no interest in wishing it to remain unknown. The proposal of a test here, in consequence of an anonymous letter, I certainly disapproved, as a measure of most wanton impolicy, which might lead to all the evils of a caballing and debating army. But when once proposed, I wished it to be adopted, and, in the case of one officer of high rank, who came to tell me that he had refused it, and to show me his official letter on that occasion, I suggested to him the insertion of words in that letter equivalent to the professions and disavowals contained in the test. His objection I well knew was not to the substance. He adopted my suggestion, and afterwards, I believe, took another mode of subscribing the test. I strongly objected to the appeal to sepoys in the Madras army, in execution of the General Orders of the 26th July; but my objection was founded on horror of mutiny and sacred regard to the most essential of all the principles of subordination. I know that you would not honor me with that degree of your friendship I am proud of possessing, if it were necessary for me to disclaim any principles which could lead me to wish success to a revolted army, an event equally subversive of authority and of liberty. I merely wish to place in your hands this very short protest against the unworthy treatment which I have received, that you may be enabled to silence any calumnies of this sort which you may hereafter hear. I have no objection

to your imparting the last part of this letter—I mean that concerning myself—to any person whom you may think proper.

Ever yours affectionately,

J. MACKINTOSH.

There must have been to Malcolm no little comfort and consolation in these letters; for there was no man in India whose opinion he held in higher esteem than Sir James Mackintosh's. But, in truth, he needed them very little at this time. New scenes of enterprise were opening out before him, and thoughts of the future were now to supplant memories of the past. He had been again invited to conduct an embassy to the Persian Court. Sir Harford Jones had made his way to Teheran in the summer, and had concluded a treaty with the Shah. What were the obligations it imposed upon the contracting parties, and in what manner they affected the British-Indian Government, and called for renewed efforts of diplomacy, will best be gathered from the following passages of a long and elaborate letter which Lord Minto addressed to Malcolm in July:

“It is not very necessary to consider critically at present the merits of Sir Harford's treaty, because the public faith is clearly pledged by engagements upon which the Court of Persia has acted, and has committed the most important interests of that Crown. Sir Harford Jones had authentic credentials for his ministry. Although all treaties are subject to the ratification of the Government which deposes the Minister, yet the circumstances under which a treaty is concluded by the Minister deputed may be such as to leave no option to his Court. The present negotiation seems to stand in that predicament, and to place us, with whom, I conceive, it has been the intention of all parties (I mean both the King's Government and the Court of Directors) that the option should rest, under the absolute necessity of ratifying and performing the engagements contracted by Sir Harford Jones. In consideration of those engagements, Persia has renounced her

alliance with France—has recalled her own Minister from Paris—dismissed, in a manner highly offensive, the French Ambassador from her own Court—cancelled all her recent treaties with France—and, in a word, provoked the resentment and indignation of the most powerful monarch in the world. It is too late, therefore, to tell the King of Persia that Sir Harford Jones was subject to instructions which he has exceeded; and that although he had full powers to negotiate and conclude, his acts were subject to ratification, which is withheld. The same answer may be justly given to any argument derived from the imperfect obligation of preliminary articles, until reduced into a final and definitive treaty. Persia has been induced by an accredited Minister to fulfil the principal engagements contracted on her part, upon the faith of a preliminary treaty, and has established an onerous title to the performance of ours. My opinion, therefore, is, that we are bound to execute the principal and leading conditions of Sir Harford's treaty. By these I mean the stipulated succors against France and Russia, or against Russia singly, during war between Great Britain and Russia. With regard to the continuance of those succors against Russia after a peace may have been concluded between the latter power and England, *we* can neither ratify nor positively reject. That is a point of imperial policy on which we must ourselves receive instructions from the King's Government, and implicitly obey them. We possess, indeed, instructions on that question already, but we must ask for fresh orders, founded on the new fact of Sir Harford's having actually pledged the faith of the King to that engagement.

“When I say that we are bound to fulfil this treaty, I assume the faithful performance of it by Persia. If the French shall have been recalled to Court, and an intercourse recommenced with that Government, there will be an end to our treaty. If that shall happen at any future time, we shall be released from our engagements. It is indispensable, therefore, that the periodical payments of the subsidy should be regulated, that is to say, should be made or withheld, by a person of confidence, residing at the Court of Persia; and that limited duty might, undoubtedly, be performed by a person of less calibre; but there are larger and yet more important objects now in view, which require once more precisely *you*. In the first place, affairs have relapsed from

a pleasant but short intermission into a state which requires a vigilant eye on which we can depend for a just view of events, present and approaching, in that quarter. We want a judgment on the spot, for counsel and advice; and a hand that may be trusted out of sight, if sudden occasion should arise for action.

“There is, however, a more specific call for your services. I need not tell you all that has been done through the zealous ministry of Sir Harford Jones to lower the rank and estimation of the British Government of India within the sphere of his influence. I am entirely convinced that the empire at large is deeply interested in maintaining, or rather, I must now say, in restoring the British dominion in India to that eminence amongst the states of Asia on which the mission of Sir Harford Jones found it established. But if I had any doubts of my own upon that point, I should still think it amongst my first duties to transmit to my successor the powers, prerogatives, and dignities of our Indian Empire in its relations—I mean with the surrounding nations—as entire and unsullied as they were confided to my hands; and I should esteem it a disgraceful violation of my great trust to let the most powerful and the noblest empire of the East suffer in my custody the slightest debasement, unless the commands of my Sovereign and superiors should require in very explicit terms a change so much to be deprecated. I entreat you, therefore, to go and lift us to our own height and to the station that belongs to us once more.

“I confess that I apprehend considerable difficulties. If things have gone worse in Europe, you will probably not be received at all. That point, however, must be finally determined before you quit Bombay, or, perhaps, I might say, Calcutta, for why should you not take your departure directly from hence, touching at Bombay for your escort, unless that which is yet in Persia should answer the purpose?

“The single conditions that need be made on our parts are that you shall be received without hesitation or delay at Teheran, and treated on all points as on the occasion of your first embassy. Without those assurances you must not advance a step from India. But those points being established, none other should stop you; and the actual residence of Gardanne at Teheran should not prevent your repairing to Court. It would furnish, on the con-

trary, a fresh motive for your hastening to the combat. In those circumstances no subsidy can be paid, and the whole treaty becomes void. But the field would be open for *your* efforts to expel *finally* the French influence, and *finally* establish our own by new engagements suited to the circumstances.

"I have left, I do not doubt, many things unsaid. But these pages will give you the general color of my thoughts on this subject; and presuming that you will wish to confer fully with me upon many points that would escape, or be imperfectly treated in letters, I shall reckon on the happiness of seeing you and *Charlotte*, for so I shall soon acquire a title to call her, at the time that may appear to you most convenient."

Before Malcolm could practically accept this invitation, another letter came from Lord Minto—a few hurried lines, exhorting him to "stand fast," as his Lordship was about to start for Madras. On the 11th of September, the Governor-General crossed the surf. He received Malcolm with all his old cordiality and kindness. He found the mutiny already quelled. Little remained for him to do but to punish a few offenders and to forgive the rest. He was soon able, therefore, to attend to the business of the Persian Mission. Malcolm needed no encouragement. Past disappointments had not allayed his zeal. He was soon again busy with his preparations. They were not, this time, of a very elaborate or costly character. Beyond a sufficient escort to give dignity to his ambassadorial character, there was no military force to be organised and equipped.

Malcolm went on a mission of peace attended only by his "family," but the family was a large one. It was no small part of the business of the Envoy Extraordinary to restore the prestige of the Company's Government; and Lord Minto, therefore, readily agreed to render the new Embassy more imposing than that which, under the

conduct of Sir Harford Jones, represented the Crown of England. There were, moreover, some supplementary objects to be attained by the Mission. The want of information relative to the countries beyond India on the north-west had long been severely felt by Government, especially in times when the invasion of India by an European enemy was supposed to be a probable event. The opportunity of supplying this want now seemed to present itself, and Malcolm was all eagerness to attach to his Staff men who would delight in the work of exploring unknown regions, and bringing back intelligence relating to their geography and their resources.

Malcolm made his selection well. He required the assistance of active, energetic men—full of enterprise, courage, and intelligence; and all these attributes he found abundantly in the numerous members of his Staff. Charles Pasley had already approved himself in the Persian territory a diplomatist of the first class; Henry Ellis had given promise of those many high qualities which afterwards secured for him an European reputation; in John Briggs were discernible the germs of the ripe scholar and warm-hearted philanthropist, who still discusses questions of Indian policy or Indian philosophy with all the ardor of a boy. In Grant, doomed to perish miserably by the hand of an assassin; in the young giant Lindsay; in Josiah Stewart and John Macdonald; in the engineer Monteith and others, Malcolm discerned the best characteristics of the true soldier and wise diplomatist, and we may be sure that whatsoever good qualities they possessed were developed under such a master. He had a wonderful faculty of drawing out the best part of those who worked under him. All that was excellent in his associates seemed to ripen rapidly under the genial and encouraging warmth of his example. His

words and acts alike gave them energy and strength ; and he never from first to last had reason to complain of any lack of good service.*

* The following is the official muster-roll of Malcolm's Staff: " Captain Charles Pasley, secretary ; Lieutenant Stewart, first assistant ; H. Ellis, Esq., second ditto, at Bombay ; and A. Jukes, Esq., third assistant, now at Bushire ; Lieutenant J. Briggs, supernumerary assistant at ditto ; Lieutenant Macdonald, ditto ; Lieutenant Little, ditto ; Mr. Surgeon Colhoun, Mr. Surgeon Cormick ; Captain N. P. Grant, commanding the escort ; Lieutenants Frederick, Martin, Lindsay, Johnson, Fotheringham, attached to ditto ; En-

sign Monteith, Engineers. The escort consists of one subadar, one jemadar, two havildars, two naigues, and twenty troopers of Madras Horse Artillery ; one sergeant, two corporals, one trumpeter, and ten privates of his Majesty's 17th Light Dragoons ; and one subadar, one jemadar, two havildars, two naigues, one drummer, one fifer, and forty Sepoys of the Bombay establishment." Lieutenant Christie and Ensign Pottinger had previously started from Bombay.

APPENDIX.

MEHEDI ALI KHAN'S MISSION.

(Chapter VII., page 116.)

(From the Journals of Sir John Malcolm.)

“AFTER we were seated, the Meerza commenced by observing, that to make me master of all his actions since he was sent into this quarter, he should take a cursory view of them from the time of his arrival at Bushire until the present time. He had been informed, he said, by Mr. Duncan, that while the Company was engaged on one hand with Tippoo Sultan, Zemaun Shah, on the other, threatened an invasion of the provinces of Oude; and that he had suggested the possibility of creating a diversion in the Afghan dominions by exciting the Persian monarch to hostilities in that quarter, which certainly would have the effect of recalling Zemaun Shah from any attack upon India; that having been authorised to make an attempt of this nature, he had, with the aid and advice of Hadjee Khalil Khan, opened a correspondence with the King and also with the Prime Minister, and in the course of this he had artfully avoided pledging the Company's name; that he had represented as from himself the ravages of the Afghans at Lahore, and mentioned that thousands of the Sheea inhabitants of that quarter, who had fled from his cruelties, had found an asylum in the Company's dominions; that if the King of Persia possessed the ability to check the career of such a prince he would be serving God and man to do so; if he did not, why of course he would remain quiet. He also endeavoured to accelerate the

advance of Mahmoud and Feroze Shah, the fugitive brothers of Zemaun Shah, and he added that all his endcavours were (as I had heard) crowned with success.

“ Last season the King of Persia had lost his time in besieging Nishapoor (it was true), and effected nothing. But the object, Mehedi Ali Khan said, that he had been directed to accomplish, was to prevent Zemaun Shah’s invading India, not to destroy that monarch; and that object had been gained. Zemaun Shah, alarmed at the movement of the Persian monarch, had returned from Peshawur and hastened to Herat; and the winter, which was the season for his invading Hindostan, had been lost.

“ After the King’s retreat, Mehedi Ali Khan said he had gone to Teheran, where he was honorably entertained, and that his Majesty had received him with distinction, and lodged him with the Prime Minister. Mehedi Ali Khan added that as he found that affairs had taken the most favorable turn, and that the King of Persia was obliged in honor to continue the contest with the Afghan Prince, he saw no good in making use of those powers with which he had been entrusted, and incurring an unnecessary expense for the Company. He therefore, when asked the purport of his mission, declared he was only sent to condole with the King on the death of his uncle, and to congratulate him on his auspicious succession. What he had before stated respecting Zemaun Shah’s cruelties, and the protection which the Company had afforded to those whom his inhumanity had forced from the country, he declared was from himself, not from the English, who, so far from desiring aid against Zemaun Shah, wished him to advance, that they might try him in arms; that it was a matter of indifference to them whether the King of Persia advanced or not, further than they would always rejoice to hear of his Majesty’s good fortune and increased power.

“ As there was a necessity for Mr. Duncan’s letter to the King corresponding with this language, Mehedi Ali Khan said he took the one sent from Bombay out of the purse, as its contents (which represented him as a man charged with power to make any agreement he chose) would have excited suspicion, and made the King urgent for an advance of money, and substituted in its place a letter which condoled with the King on his uncle’s death, and congratulated him on his own succession.

“ Respecting the French, Mehedi Ali Khan said he had procured orders to be sent for their persons to be seized, and their property to be plundered, if they came to any ports in Persia ; and that he himself had orders to that effect from the King to the Sheikh of Bushire.

“ He concluded by saying that at an audience before he left Court, where all were excluded from the presence except himself and the Prime Minister, a long conversation had taken place on the intended expedition to Khorassan and Candahar, which the King swore by his head he intended to prosecute. On his advice being asked whether he thought it should be proclaimed as a war of religion or one of ambition, Mehedi Ali Khan stated that both grounds were objectionable, as they were likely to unite those whom it was his Majesty’s interest should be divided ; that it was best for his Majesty, in his opinion, to take public notice of the Prince Mahmoud, who was at his Court, and to proclaim his royal intention of placing that prince, who was Zemaun Shah’s elder brother, on a throne which was his birthright.* This pretext was honorable, and would probably gain friends to the King among the chief leaders of the Afghan tribes, who were, by all accounts, not a little disaffected. The King approved this advice, and told him he was resolved to send Prince Mahmoud with Sadik Khan in advance, in the beginning of April, and he should himself follow in the rear with 20,000 men.

“ This was the state of affairs, Mehedi Ali Khan said, when he took his leave, and he had no doubt that the King would march ; and if he does, there must be war between him and Zemaun Shah ; and, let who would conquer, the purposes of the Honorable Company would be answered.”

* This, however, is a mistake. Ha-Shah ; Zemaun, the second ; and Mahmoud, the third.—K.
mayoon was the eldest son of Timour

THE PERSIAN TREATIES.

(Chapter VII., page 143.)

Translation of a Firmaun from Futteh Ali Shauh, King of Persia, and an annexed Treaty concluded by Haujee Ibrahem Khaun, Prime Minister, on the part of the King of Persia, by whom he was fully empowered; and by Captain John Malcolm, on the part of the English Government, by virtue of powers delegated to him for that purpose by the Most Noble the Marquis of Wellesley, K.P., Governor-General of India, &c. &c.

Firmaun.

In the name of the beloved and great God. The earth is the Lord's. Our august commands are issued: That the high in dignity, the exalted in station, the refuge of power and glory, the noble and great in authority, the chiefs of high nobles, the Beglerbegs, the Haukims, the Naibs, and Mootasuddics of the kingdom under our protection (who are raised by our royal favor), become acquainted, that, at this period, the dignified and eminent in station, the prudent, able, and penetrating, the greatest of the exalted followers of the Messiah, Captain John Malcolm, deputed from a glorious quarter (from the Government of the King of England, whose Court resembles the firmament, an emperor in dignity like Alexander, possessing the power of the globe, and from the repository of glory, greatness, and ability, endowed with nobility, power, and justice, the Governor-General of the kingdom of Hindoostan), for the purpose of establishing union and friendship between the two great States, has arrived at our threshold, founded on justice, and has been honored by admission to our royal presence of conspicuous splendor, and has expressed a desire that the foundations of amity and union should be laid between the two States, that they should be connected together in the bonds of friendship and harmony, and that a constant union and reciprocal good understanding should exist. We, from our august selves, have given our consent, and have granted the requests and desires of the high in rank above mentioned, and a treaty, sealed

with the seal of the Minister* of our ever-enduring Government, has been given to him; and you, exalted in station, are positively enjoined of the necessity (after you become informed of our royal and august order) for all of you acting in strict conformity with the conditions of the treaty concluded and exchanged between the high in rank, the exalted in station, the great and glorious in power, near to the throne, on whom the royal confidence is placed, Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, and the high in rank the Envoy (Captain John Malcolm) whose titles have been before enumerated. Let no one act contrary to this high command, or to the contents of the annexed treaty; and should it ever be represented to us that any of the great nobles conduct themselves in opposition to the stipulations of this treaty, or are in this respect guilty or negligent, such will incur our displeasure and punishment, and be exposed to our royal anger, which is like fire; and let them view this as an obligation.

Dated in the month of Shaubaun, in the year of the Hejree 1215, corresponding with the month of January, A.D. 1801.

Sealed in the usual form on the back of the Firmaun by the following Ministers:

Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, Meerza Shuffee, Meerza Roza Kooli, Meerza Assud Oollah, Meerza Rezy, Meerza Ahmud, Meerza Mortiza Kooli, Meerza Fazoollah, and Meerza Yoosuf.

Treaty Annexed.

Preamble.

Praise be to God, who has said, Perform your covenant, for the performance of your covenant shall be inquired into hereafter.

As establishing the obligations of friendship between all mankind is a charge from the Almighty, and it is a most laudable and excellent institution, and as the Creator is pleased, and the happiness and tranquillity of his creatures consulted by it, therefore, at this happy period of auspicious aspect, a treaty has been concluded between the high in dignity, the exalted in station, attended by fortune, of great and splendid power, the greatest

* Literally, one in whom confidence is placed.

among the high viziers, in whom confidence is placed, the faithful of the powerful Government, the adorned with greatness, power, glory, splendor, and fortune, Hajjee Ibraheem Khaun, on being granted leave, and vested with authority from the part of the high King, whose Court is like that of Solomon, the asylum of the world, the sign of the power of God, the jewel in the ring of kings, the ornament in the cheek of eternal empire, the grace of the beauty of sovereignty and royalty, the King of the universe, like Cahermaun the mansion of mercy and justice, the phoenix of good fortune, the eminence of never-fading prosperity, the King powerful as Alexander, who has no equal among the Princes exalted to majesty by the Heavens in this globe, a shade from the shade of the Most High, a Khoosrow whose saddle is the moon, and whose stirrup is the new moon, a Prince of great rank before whom the sun is concealed.

Arabic Verse.

[Thy benevolence is universally dispensed; everywhere drops are scattered; thy kindness shadows cities; may God fix firm the basis of thy dominion !]

And the high in dignity, the great and able in power, the adorning of those acquainted with manners, Captain John Malcolm, delegated from the sublime quarter of the high in power (seated on a throne, the asylum of the world, the chief jewel in the crown of royalty and sovereignty, the anchor of the vessel of victory and fortune, the ship on the sea of glory and empire, the blazing sun in the sky of greatness and glory, lord of the countries of England and India, may God strengthen his territories, and establish his glory and command upon the seas!) in the manner explained in his credentials, which are sealed with the seal of the most powerful and most glorious possessing fortune, the origin of rank, splendor, and nobility, the ornament of the world, the completer of the works of mankind, the Governor-General of India.

This treaty between the two great Powers shall be binding on race after race, and the two Governments must ever, while the world exists, act in conformity to what is now settled.

Article 1st. The merchants of the high contracting States are to travel and carry on their affairs in the territories of both nations in full security and confidence, and the rulers and governors of all

cities are to consider it their duty to protect from injury their cattle and goods.

Article 2nd. The traders and merchants of the kingdoms of England or Hindoostan that are in the service of the English Government shall be permitted to settle in any of the seaports or cities of the boundless empire of Persia (which may God preserve from calamity) that they prefer, and no Government duties, taxes, or requisitions shall ever be collected on any goods that are the actual property of either of the Governments, the usual duties on such to be taken from purchasers.

Article 3rd. Should it happen that either the persons or property of merchants are injured or lost, by thieves and robbers, the utmost exertions shall be made to punish the delinquents and recover the property. And if any merchant or trader of Persia evades or delays the payment of a debt to the English Government, the latter are authorised to use every possible mode for the recovery of their demands, taking care to do so in communication and with the knowledge of the ruler or governor of the place, who is to consider it as his duty to grant on such occasion every aid in his power. And should any merchants of Persia be in India attending to their mercantile concerns, the officers of the English Government are not to prevent them carrying on their affairs, but to aid and favor them; and the above-mentioned merchants are to recover their debts and demands in the mode prescribed by the customs and laws of the English Government.

Article 4th. If any person in the empire of Persia die indebted to the English Government, the ruler of the place must exert his power to have such demand satisfied before those of any other creditors whatever. The servants of the English Government resident in Persia are permitted to hire as many domestics, natives of that country, as are necessary for the transaction of their affairs; and they are authorised to punish such in cases of misconduct in the manner they judge most expedient, provided such punishment does not extend to life or limb. In such cases, the punishment to be inflicted by the ruler or governor of the place.

Article 5th. The English are at liberty to build houses and mansions in any of the ports or cities of Persia that they choose, and they may sell or rent such houses or mansions at pleasure.

And should ever a ship belonging to the English Government be in a damaged state in any of the ports of Persia, or one of Persia be in that condition in an English harbor, the chiefs and rulers of the ports and harbors of the respective nations are to consider it as their duty to give every aid to refit and repair vessels so situated; and if it happens that any of the vessels of either nation are sunk or shipwrecked in or near the ports or shores of either country, on such occasions whatever part of the property is recovered shall be restored to its owners or their heirs, and a just hire is to be allowed by the owners to those who recover it.

Final Article. Whenever any native of England, or India, in the service of the English Government, resident in Persia, wishes to leave that country, he is to suffer obstruction from no person, but to be at full liberty to do so, and to carry with him his property.

The articles of the treaty between the two States are fixed and determined. That person who turns from God turns from his own soul.

Dated in the month of Rumzaun, in the year of the Hejree 1215, corresponding with the month of January, A.D. 1801.

Seal of

Haujee Ibraheem Khaun.

(Signed)

Seal of

Captain John Malcolm.

JOHN MALCOLM, Envoy.

Additional Article.

It is further written in sincerity, that on iron, lead, steel, broadcloth, and perpetts, that are exclusively the property of the English Government, no duties whatever shall be taken from the sellers; a duty not exceeding one per cent. to be levied on the purchasers. And the duties, imposts, and customs which are at this period established in Persia and India (on other goods) are to remain fixed, and not to be increased.

The high in rank, Haujee Khulleel Khaun, Malek-oo-Tijaur, is charged and entrusted with the arrangement and settlement of the remaining points relative to commerce.

Seal of

Haujee Ibraheem Khaun. •

(Signed)

Seal of

Captain John Malcolm.

JOHN MALCOLM, Envoy.

Political Treaty.

Translation of a Firmaun from Futteh Ali Shauh, King of Persia, and of an annexed Treaty, concluded by Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, Prime Minister, on the part of the King of Persia, by whom he was fully empowered; and by Captain John Malcolm, on the part of the English Government, by virtue of powers delegated to him for that purpose by the Most Noble the Marquis of Wellesley, K.P., Governor-General, &c. &c.

Firmaun.

In the name of the beloved and great God. The earth is the Lord's. Our august commands are issued: That the high in rank, the exalted in station, the great Rulers, Officers and Writers of the ports, sea-coasts, and islands of the provinces of Faurs and Khoozistaun, do consider themselves as particularly honored and advanced by the royal favor; and whereas, at this period, the foundations of union and friendship have been cemented, and the habits of amity and intercourse have been increased between the Ministers of the (Persian) State of eternal duration and the Ministers of the high Government of the refulgent sun of the sky of royalty, greatness, and eminence, the Sovereign of the countries of England and India; and, as various engagements and treaties calculated for duration and permanence, and for mutual good understanding, have been contracted, therefore this command from the palace of glory, requiring obedience, has been proclaimed, that you, high in rank, do cheerfully comply, and execute the clear sense and meaning of what has been established. And should ever any persons of the French nation attempt to pass your ports or boundaries, or desire to establish themselves either on the shores or frontiers, you are to take means to expel and extirpate them, and never to allow them to obtain a footing in any place; and you are at full liberty and authorised to disgrace and slay them. You are to look upon it as your duty to aid and act in a friendly manner to all traders, merchants, and men of rank of the English nation. All such you are to consider as possessing the favor of the King, and you must act in conformity to

the conditions of the annexed treaty, that has been concluded between the trustworthy of the high State, the bracelet of the graceful Government, Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, and the high in rank, Captain John Malcolm. View this as an obligation.

Dated the 12th of Shaubaun, in the year of the Hejree 1215, corresponding with January, A.D. 1801.

Sêaled in the usual form on the back of the Firmaun by the following Ministers:

Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, Meerza Shaffee, Meerza Reza Kouli, Meerza Assud Pollah, Meerza Rezy, Meerza Ahmud, Meerza Moortiza Kouli, Meerza Fazoollah, Meerza Yoosuf.

Treaty Annexed.

Preamble.

Praise be unto God, who said, O you who believe, perform your contracts; perform your covenant with God when you enter into covenant with Him, and violate not your engagements after the ratification thereof.

* After the voice is raised to the praise and glory of the God of the world, and the brain is perfumed with the scent of the saints and prophets, to whom be health and glory! whose rare perfections are perpetually chanted by birds* of melodious notes, furnished with two, three, and four pair of wings, and to the highest seated in the heavens, for whom good has been predestinated, and the perfume mixed with musk, which scenteth the celestial mansions of those that sing hymns in the ethereal sphere, and to the light of the flame of the Most High, which gives irradiate splendor to the collected view of those who dwell in the heavenly regions, the clear meaning of (the treaty) which has been established on a solid basis is fully explained in this page, and it is fixed as a prescription of law, that in this world of existence and trouble, in the universe of creation and concord there is no action among those of mankind that tends more to the perfection of the human race, or to answer the end of their being and existence, than that of cementing friendship and of establishing

* Metaphorically, angels.

intercourse, communication, and connexion betwixt each other. The image reflected from the mirror of accomplishment is a tree fruitful and abundant, and one that produces good, both now and hereafter. To illustrate the allusions that it has been proper to make, and to explain these metaphors worthy of exposition, at this happy period of auspicious aspect, a treaty has been concluded between the high in dignity, the exalted in station, attended by fortune of great and splendid power, the greatest among the high viziers, in whom confidence is placed, the faithful of the powerful Government, the adorned with greatness, power, glory, splendor, and fortune, Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, on being granted leave and vested with authority from the port of the high King, whose Court is like that of Solomon, the asylum of the world, the sign of the power of God, the jewel in the ring of kings, the ornament in the cheek of eternal empire, the grace of the beauty of sovereignty and royalty, the King of the universe, like Cahermaun the mansion of mercy and justice, the phoenix of good fortune, the eminence of never-fading prosperity; the King powerful as Alexander, who has no equal among the Princes, exalted to majesty by the Heavens in this globe, a shade from the shade of the Most High, a Khoosrow whose saddle is the moon, and whose stirrup is the new moon, a Prince of great rank before whom the sun is concealed.

Arabic Verse.

[Thy benevolence is universally dispensed; everywhere drops are scattered; thy kindness shadows cities; may God fix firm the basis of thy dominion, and may God fix and extend thy power over the servants of the Almighty!]

And the high in dignity, the great and able in power, the adorer of those acquainted with manners, Captain John Malcolm, delegated from the sublime quarter of the high in power (seated on a throne, the asylum of the world, the chief jewel in the crown of royalty and sovereignty, the anchor of the vessel of victory and fortune, the ship on the sea of glory and empire, the blazing sun in the sky of greatness and glory, lord of the countries of England and India, may God strengthen his territories and establish his glory and command upon the seas!) in the manner explained in

his credentials, which are sealed with the seal of the most powerful and most glorious possessing fortune, the origin of rank, splendor, and nobility, the ornament of the world, the completer of the works of mankind, the Governor-General of India.

This treaty between these two great States shall be binding on race after race, and the two Governments must ever, while the world exists, act in conformity to what is now settled.

Article 1st. As long as the sun illuminating the circle of the two great contracting parties shines on their sovereign dominions, and bestows light on the whole world, the beautiful image of excellent union shall remain fixed on the mirror of duration and perpetuity, the thread of shameful enmity and distance shall be cut, conditions of mutual aid and assistance between the two States shall be substituted, and all causes of hatred and hostility shall be banished.

Article 2nd. If the King of the Afghauns should ever show a resolution to invade India, which is subject to the government of the monarch (above mentioned), the Prince of high rank, the King of England, an army overthrowing mountains, furnished with all warlike stores, shall be appointed from the State of the conspicuous and exalted high and fixed in power (the King of Persia), to lay waste and desolate the Afghaun dominions, and every exertion shall be employed to ruin and humble the above-mentioned nation.

Article 3rd. Should it happen that the King of the Afghaun nation ever becomes desirous of opening the gates of peace and friendship with the Government of the King (of Persia), who is in rank like Solomon, in dignity like Jumsheed, the shade of God, who has bestowed his mercy and kindness on the earth, when negotiations are opened for an amicable adjustment it shall be stipulated in the peace concluded that the King of the Afghauns or his armies shall abandon all design of attack on the territories subject to the Government of the King above mentioned, who is worthy of royalty, the King of England.

Article 4th. Should ever any King of the Afghauns, or any person of the French nation, commence war and hostilities with the powerful of the ever-enduring State (of the King of Persia), the Rulers of the Government of the King (of England), whose Court is like heaven, and who has been before mentioned, shall

(on such event) send as many cannon and warlike stores as possible, with necessary apparatus, attendants, and inspectors, and such (supply) shall be delivered over at one of the ports of Persia, whose boundaries are conspicuous to the officers of the high in dignity, the King of Persia.

Article 5th. Should it ever happen that an army of the French nation, actuated by design and deceit, attempts to settle, with a view of establishing themselves on any of the islands or shores of Persia, a conjunct force shall be appointed by the two high contracting States, to act in co-operation, and to destroy and put an end to the foundations of their treason. It is a condition, if such event happens, and the conquering troops (of Persia) march, that the officers of the Government of the King (of England), who is powerful as the heavens, and has been before mentioned, shall load, transport, and deliver (for their service) as great a quantity of necessaries, stores, and provisions as they possibly can; and if ever any of the great men of the French nation express a wish or desire to obtain a place of residence or dwelling on any of the islands or shores of the kingdom of Persia, that they may there raise the standard of abode or settlement, such request or representation shall not be consented unto by the high in rank of the State encompassed with justice (the Government of Persia), and leave for their residing in such place shall not be granted.

While time endures, and while the world exists, the contents of this exalted treaty shall remain an admired picture in the mirror of duration and perpetuity, and submission to the fair image on this conspicuous page shall be everlasting.

Seal of
Haujee Ibraheem Khaun.

(Signed)

Seal of
Captain John Malcolm.
JOHN MALCOLM, Envoy.

[The spelling of the names and titles in the above treaties differs from that employed in the text. The orthography in Malcolm's journal has been literally followed.—K.]

THE TREATY WITH SCINDIAH.

(Chapter X., page 243.)

Treaty of Alliance between the Honorable East India Company and the Maharajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah. Concluded at Boorhampore on the 27th February, 1804.

Treaty of alliance and mutual defence between the Honorable the English East India Company, and the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindiah Bahadur, and his children, heirs, and successors, settled by Major John Malcolm, on the part of the Honorable Company; and by Bappo Eitul Punt, and Moonshee Kavel Nyn, on the part of the Maharajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah. After having communicated to each other their full powers, the said John Malcolm being deputed to the Court of Dowlut Rao Scindiah by Major-General the Hon. Arthur Wellesley; the Hon. Major-General aforesaid being invested with full powers and authority from his Excellency the most Noble Richard Marquis Wellesley, Knight of the most illustrious order of St. Patrick, one of his Britannic Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council, appointed by the Honorable Court of Directors of the said Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies.

Whereas, by the blessing of God, the relations of friendship and union have been happily established between the Government of the Honorable Company, and that of the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Scindiah Bahadur, by a recent treaty of peace, the two Governments aforesaid, adverting to the complexion of the times, have now determined, with a view to the preservation of peace and tranquillity, to enter into this treaty of general defensive alliance, for the reciprocal protection of their respective territories, together with those of their several allies and dependents, against unprovoked aggression and encroachments of all or any enemies whatever.

Art. 1. The friendship and union established by the former treaty between the two States, shall be promoted and increased by this treaty, and shall be perpetual; the friends and enemies of either State shall be the friends and enemies of both; and their mutual interests shall henceforward be inseparable.

2. If any person or state whatever shall commit any act of un-

provoked hostility or aggression against either of the contracting parties, and, after due representation, shall refuse to enter into amicable explanation, or shall deny the just satisfaction or indemnity which the contracting parties shall have required, then the contracting parties will proceed to concert and prosecute such further measures as the case shall appear to demand. For the more distinct explanation of the true intent and effect of this article, the Governor-General in Council, in behalf of the Honorable Company, hereby declares, that the British Government will never permit any power or state whatever to commit, with impunity, any act of unprovoked hostility or aggression against the rights and territories of the Maharajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah; but will at all times, in compliance with the requisition of the Maharajah, maintain and defend the same, when such requisition is made, in the like manner as the rights and territories of the Honorable Company are now maintained and defended.

3. With a view to fulfil this treaty of mutual defence, the Maharajah agrees to receive, and the Honorable East India Company to furnish, a subsidiary force of not less than six thousand regular infantry, with the usual proportion of artillery, and with the proper equipment of warlike stores and ammunition. This force is to be stationed at such place, near the frontier of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, as may hereafter be deemed most eligible by the British Government; and it will be held in readiness, at such station, to proceed as soon as possible for the execution of any service on which it is liable to be employed by the condition of this treaty.

4. And it is further agreed, that, in conformity to the stipulations of the fifteenth article of the treaty of peace, concluded by Major-General Wellesley, on the part of the Honorable Company, and by Bappo Eitul, Moonshee Kavel Nyn, &c., on the part of the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindiah, that all charges and expenses of the six battalions above mentioned, and of their ordnance, artillery, military stores, and equipment, shall be defrayed by the Honorable Company out of the produce of the revenues of the territories ceded by the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindiah, to the said Company, by the articles second, third, and fourth of the afore-mentioned treaty of peace, which territories are specified in a statement annexed to that treaty.

5. Grain, and all other articles of consumption, and provisions, and all sorts of materials for wearing apparel, together with the necessary number of cattle, horses, and camels, required for the use of the subsidiary force, shall, whenever the aforesaid force is within the territories of the Maharajah, in consequence of his requisition, be entirely exempt from duties; and whenever any further force of the Honorable Company shall, in consequence of war with any other state, be in the dominions of the Maharajah, they shall, in like manner as the subsidiary force, be exempt from all duties upon the aforesaid articles of necessary use and consumption. And it is also agreed, that, whenever any part of the army of the Maharajah is in the territories of the Honorable Company, for purposes connected with the fulfilment of this treaty, no duties on grain, camels, wearing apparel, &c., as stated above, which the party of the army of the said Maharajah may require, shall be collected; and it is further agreed, that the officers of the respective Governments, while they are in the fulfilment of the articles of this treaty, either with the army, or in the territories of the other, shall be treated with that respect and consideration which is due to their rank and station.

6. The subsidiary force will at all times be ready, on the requisition of the Maharajah, to execute services of importance, such as the care of the person of the Maharajah, his heirs and successors, the protection of the country from attack and invasion, the over-awing and chastisement of rebels or excitors of disturbance in the Maharajah's dominions; but it is not to be employed on trifling occasions.

7. Whereas it is agreed, in the thirteenth article of the treaty of peace, that the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindiah shall never take, or retain in his service, any Frenchman, or the subject of any other European or American power, the Government of which may be at war with Great Britain, or any British subject whatever, European or native of India, without the consent of the British Government; the Maharajah now further engages that he will hereafter never employ in his service, or permit to reside in his dominions, any European or American whatever, without the consent and acquiescence of the British Government; the said British Government on its part engaging that it never will employ, or permit to reside in its dominions, any person, subject of the Ma-

harajah, or others, who shall hereafter be guilty of crimes, or of hostility, against the person or Government of the aforesaid Maharajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah.

8. As, by the present treaty, the union and friendship of the two states is so firmly cemented, that they may be considered as one and the same, the Maharajah engages neither to commence nor to pursue, in future, any negotiation with any principal states or powers, without giving previous notice, and entering into mutual consultation with the Honorable East India Company's Government: and the Honorable Company's Government, on their part, declare that they will have no manner of concern with any of the Maharajah's relations, dependents, military chiefs, or servants, with respect to whom the Maharajah is absolute; and that they will on no occasion ever afford encouragement, support, or protection, to any of the Maharajah's relations, dependents, chiefs, or servants, who may eventually act in opposition to the Maharajah's authority, but on the contrary, at the requisition of the Maharajah, they will aid and assist to punish and reduce all such offenders to obedience; and it is further agreed, that no officer of the Honorable Company shall ever interfere in the internal affairs of the Maharajah's Government.

9. As the chief object and design of the present defensive alliance is the security and protection of the dominions of the contracting parties, and their allies and dependents, from all attack whatsoever, the Maharajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah engages never to commit any act of hostility or aggression against any state or chief in alliance with the Honorable Company, or against any other principal state or power; and, in the event of differences arising, whatever adjustment the Company's Government, weighing matters in the scale of truth and justice, may determine, shall meet with his full approbation and acquiescence.

10. The contracting parties will employ all practicable means of conciliation to prevent the calamity of war, and for that purpose will at all times be ready to enter into amicable explanations with other principal states or powers, and to cultivate and improve the general relations of peace and amity with all the principal powers of India, according to the true spirit and tenor of this treaty. But if a war should unfortunately break out between the contracting parties and any other state or power whatever, then the Maharajah

Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindiah Bahadur engages, that the English force, consisting of six battalions, with their guns, &c., joined by a detachment of his army, consisting of six thousand of the Maharajah's infantry, and ten thousand of his Pagah and Sillahdar cavalry, which force the Maharajah engages always to keep ready, shall be immediately put in motion for the purpose of opposing the enemy; and the Maharajah also engages to employ every further effort for the purpose of bringing into the field the whole force which he may be able to supply from his dominions, with a view to the effectual prosecution and speedy termination of the said war. The Honorable Company in the same manner engage, on their part (on such event occurring), to employ in active operations against the enemy as large a force as the service may require, over and above the said subsidiary force.

11. Whenever war shall appear probable, the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindiah engages to collect as many brinjarries as possible, and to store as much grain as may be practicable in the frontier garrisons. The Company's Government also, with a view to the effectual prosecution of the war, engage to adopt similar measures in their frontier garrisons.

12. The contracting parties entertain no views of conquests or extensions of their respective dominions, nor any intention of proceeding to hostilities against any state or principal power unless in the case of unjust and unprovoked aggression, and after the failure of their joint endeavours to obtain reasonable satisfaction, through the channel of pacific negotiation, according to the tenor of the preceding treaty. If, contrary to the spirit and object of this defensive treaty, war with any state should hereafter appear unavoidable (which God avert), the contracting parties will proceed to adjust the rule of partition of all such advantages and acquisitions as may eventually result from the success of their united arms. It is declared that, in the event of war, and of a consequent partition of conquests between the contracting parties, the shares of each Government shall be equal in the division of any territory which may be acquired by the successful exertion of their united arms, provided that each of the contracting parties shall have fulfilled all the stipulations of this treaty.

13. The interests of the contracting parties being identified this defensive alliance, it is agreed, that the Honorable Com-

pany's Government shall be at liberty to employ the whole, or any part of the subsidiary force established by the treaty, in quelling of any disturbance which may arise within their territories, or in the performance of any other service which may be required by the said Honorable Company's Government, provided such service shall not interfere with any other duties on which the said subsidiary force is liable to be employed, under the conditions of this treaty. And if disturbances shall at any time break out in any part of the Maharajah's dominions which lie contiguous to the frontier of the Honorable Company, and to which it might be inconvenient to detach any proportion of the subsidiary force, the British Government in like manner, if required by Dowlut Rao Scindiah, shall direct such of the Company's troops as may be most conveniently stationed for the purpose, to assist in quelling the said disturbances within the Maharajah's dominions; and if disturbances shall at any time break out in any part of the dominions of the British Government which lie contiguous to the frontier of the Maharajah, the Maharajah, if required by the British Government, shall direct such of his troops as may be most conveniently stationed for the purpose, to assist in quelling the said disturbances within the dominions of the British Government.

14. In order to strengthen and confirm the friendship established between the two states, it is agreed that neither of the two contracting parties shall enter into any alliance, or have any concern, with the tributaries or chiefs of the other; and in order to support the independent authority of both Governments, it is agreed and declared, that hereafter neither of the contracting parties will give protection or countenance to the rebellious tributaries and subjects of the other, but they will use their utmost endeavours for the apprehension of such rebels, in order that they may be brought to punishment.

15. The Honorable Company agree to exert their influence to maintain the observance of such usages on matters of form, and ceremony, and other customs, as shall appear to have been fixed on all points of intercourse and communication between the Peishwah and his ancestors, and the Maharajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah and his ancestors; and the English Government also agree to recognise the right of Dowlut Rao Scindiah to all possessions he holds, whether by written sunnuds or grants, or by the un-

written authority of the Peishwah; according to former usage, provided such sunnuds do not interfere with the faithful fulfilment of the treaty of peace; and provided also, that in all cases where disputes may arise on the subject of possessions held by unwritten authority, the Maharajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah agrees to refer to the sole arbitration of the said British Government, who will decide with reference to former usage, on the principles of truth and justice. The English Government further agrees to use its endeavour to prevent any acts which have been done by Dowlut Rao Scindiah, or his ancestors, under the authority reposed in him or them by the Peishwah or his ancestors, from being subverted, provided their being supported is strictly consistent with the preservation of the honor and dignity of his Highness the Peishwah, and of the stipulations of the treaty of peace.

16. This treaty, consisting of sixteen articles, being this day settled by Major Malcolm, on the part of the Honorable Company, and by Eitul Punt and Moonshee Kavel Nyn, on the part of Dowlut Rao Scindiah; Major Malcolm has delivered one copy thereof in Persian, and Mahratta, and English, signed and sealed by himself, to the said Maharajah, who, on his part, has also delivered one copy of the same, duly executed by himself: and Major Malcolm, by virtue of a special authority given him in that behalf by Major-General the Hon. Arthur Wellesley (himself vested with full powers as before stated), hereby declares the said treaty to be in full force from the date hereof, and engages that a copy of the same, from the Governor-General in Council, in every respect the counterpart of that executed by himself, shall be delivered to the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindiah, in the space of two months and ten days; and on the delivery of such copy, the treaty executed by Major Malcolm shall be returned.

Done at Boorhampore, the twenty-seventh of
February, A. D. 1804, or fourteenth of Zeecada,
A. H. 1218.

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY ON THE PEACE WITH SCINDIAH
AND HOLKAR.

[The following are the letters to which reference is made at the close of Chapter XIII. They are all written in the year 1806.]

London, February 25, 1806.

MY DEAR MALCOLM,—I returned from the Continent only a few days ago, and have not yet had leisure to read the Indian papers which have come into my hands, in order to enable me to form an opinion of the state of affairs up to the latest period. I think it probable, however, that you will have peace, and that it may be permanent or otherwise in proportion to our own firmness and the means of the enemy of disturbing our tranquillity. So many principles, however, have been abandoned, or overturned, that we must look for peace from a course of accidental circumstances, and not from the steady adherence to any settled system of policy. I will try to get a living for your brother, but you see that a revolution (commonly called a change) has taken place in the Government of this country. *We* are not actually in opposition, but we have no power, and if I get anything for your brother it must be by the influence of private friendship. I don't think that this Government can last very long. You can have no idea of the disgust created by the harshness of their measures and by the avidity with which they have sought for office, and by the indecency with which they have dismissed every man supposed to have been connected with Pitt. His friends will, I think, remain connected, and will act together as a body, and a most formidable one they will be to any Government, on account of their numbers. I am tolerably well in health, and I shall be quite well if I can contrive to spend a few weeks at Cheltenham this summer. The regiment which they have given me, and the staff, have made me rich. As soon as I shall have read all the Indian papers which I have got, I will sit down and write you a long despatch upon them. In the mean time,

Believe me, yours most sincerely and affectionately,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

There is a report about London which I cannot bring myself to

give credit to, that you had been hurt by a horse, and that your leg had, in consequence, been amputated. I was employed for two days tracing this report, and at last I found that you had been bit by a horse in the arm. I only hope not by Sultan.

Hastings, in Sussex, July 31, 1806.

MY DEAR MALCOLM,—I have received your letters up to the 14th of January, for which I return you many thanks. The subjects to which they relate are too large to be discussed in a letter which must go to the post this afternoon, in order to be despatched by the ships which sail in a few days. I shall, therefore, satisfy myself by telling you that I consider you have acted a part entirely consistent with your own character, and in strict conformity with my sentiments, in everything that you have done. The arrangement with Scindiah is precisely that which you and I recommended long before, and which I urged, and I believe was ordered, when I was in Bengal, in the year 1804. I thought, also, at that time, and so did you, that the Rajpoots ought to have been subjected to the control of Scindiah's Government, as the only mode of re-establishing it in the state in which it must exist, if it is to exist at all. This object might with ease and justice have been effected at that time, if the state of Scindiah's Government had permitted it; and I am not sufficiently acquainted with all that has passed between the Rajpoots and our Government since the period of Monsoo's defeat to be able to decide that we ought not to deliver them over to Scindiah, notwithstanding the favorable change which has taken place in the state and dispositions of his councils.

I regret that it has been necessary to allow Holkar to exist and to be at large. I should be inclined to suspect that he will never allow us to be at peace, and without peace we cannot reduce the debt, which must be the great object at present. However, if it was necessary to allow him to exist, I see but one amendment which could have been made to the treaty with him, that is, to have kept permanently Amber and Chandore in the Deccan, and some place of similar consequence in Hindostan, either in our own hands, or those of our allies, as a perpetual memorial to the whole world that we had defeated him. The powers of India will not

now believe that our moderation alone has occasioned the treaty which has been concluded; and I should not be surprised if it gave ground for a belief the most erroneous, that Holkar's power and his mode of warfare had been more destructive to us than the resources, and the efficiency, and discipline of the armies of the other Mahrattas.

In respect to the necessity of peace with Holkar, no man can be a judge of it who has not been in this country, who has not sat in the House of Commons, and had means of ascertaining the public opinion at its fountain head. I really believe that in the opinion of the majority of people in this country it would have been better to cede the whole of Oude to Holkar, than to continue the war with him.

As for myself, I am here now in the command of a force—stationed on this part of the coast—the old landing-place of William the Conqueror. You will have seen that I am in Parliament, and a most difficult and unpleasant game I have had to play in the present extraordinary state of parties. I have desired Sydenham to send you a copy of a speech which I made upon the Budget. I have seen your brothers Pulteney and Charles, both well. The former is in the *Donegal* off Brest, the other unemployed in London. But Sir Thomas, who I saw likewise, expects to be able to get a ship for Charles soon. God bless you, my dear Malcolm; do not stay too long in India, and believe me,

Ever yours most affectionately,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Pray remember me most kindly to Wilkes, and all friends at Seringapatam.

Deal, Dec. 10, 1806.

MY DEAR MALCOLM,—I hear that the ships will soon sail from Portsmouth, and I will not allow them to go without a few lines, although I have but little to tell you. I know no more of public news than what you will see in the newspapers, which indeed, in these days, contain everything. You will read with horror the accounts of the French successes against the King of Prussia; but will learn with pleasure that, considering the line of policy which

that Government has adopted for some years, those successes are not likely to do us any material mischief immediately, whatever may be their eventual consequence in relation to our ally the Emperor of Russia. Of the truth of this opinion I am thoroughly convinced, from a personal knowledge of facts, as well as because I know it is entertained by some, for whose judgment I entertain the greatest respect.

As for India, I know but little respecting it. If I had been employed in North America, I might be informed and consulted on the measures to be adopted in India; but as it is, that is out of the question. Lord Minto will sail soon—I believe, early in next month; and General Hewitt, who is appointed Commander-in-Chief, will go with him, or shortly after him. You will find this to be a sensible and good-natured gentleman, and well disposed to carry on his business in the manner which experience has proved to be most suitable to the country. I doubt whether his health or his age will permit him to remain long, or to be very active in the field.

The last letter which I received from you was dated from Cawnpore, in May, I believe, but I sent it to Lord W., who has kept it. You are already acquainted with my opinion generally about your peace with Holkar, and your treaty with Scindiah. I only wish that you had kept anything from the former which might have been held out as a perpetual signal and memorandum to all India that he had been defeated by us, for I am apprehensive that the opinion to which I know all were inclined, that Holkar's system of warfare was the same with the old Mahratta system, that it was the best against us, and that Scindiah was ruined by his adoption of a more regular system, than which nothing can be more erroneous, may occasion another war with a confederacy. * I know that we have no danger to apprehend from this war, if we keep up not so much the strength of our armies as our equipments; and if our troops are commanded by officers who know how to make use of them. But I dread the expense, and the effect which the renewal of these wars will have in this country, and I know full well that there are many delicate questions to be settled in the Mahratta Empire, the arrangement of which, in peace, will require all the impression from former victories, all the vigor, all the prudence, and all the temper which

have brought us through our former difficulties. The fault which I find with the peace with Holkar, therefore, is, that it has strengthened an erroneous opinion, which has deprived us of the greatest advantage of our victories, viz., their impression, and that in this manner it will increase the chance of war upon the occasion of the arrangement of every question which remains to be settled in the Mahratta Empire. The want of this impression renders the exercise of a vigorous administration nearly impracticable, excepting in a state of constant preparation for war, which, after all, is nearly as expensive as war itself; and yet I don't see how the Government in India is to be carried on excepting with vigor.

I see no material objection to the treaty with Scindiah, and I believe that I recommended that the treaty of peace should be arranged upon the principles of that treaty, and that a treaty to a similar purport should be concluded with Scindiah when the treaty of peace was arranged differently.

You will have heard with astonishment of Paull's attack upon Lord Wellesley. The impudence of this gentleman in setting himself up for Westminster, has afforded an opportunity of unveiling him to the public, and his character is now well known. Only think of that fellow standing for Westminster, and having him not far from carrying his election! He is not now in Parliament, and I doubt whether he will come in; and if he should not be in the House of Commons, it is not quite clear that anybody will undertake the cause which he will have left. But whether there should be such a person or not, I have some reason to believe that the House will not allow the business to be brought forward again, although, from the state of parties, I am afraid that it will not be got rid of in the manner which would be most agreeable and honorable to Lord Wellesley and his friends. You who know him well, will be aware of the impression, which all that has passed upon this subject, and the state of the public mind on Indian subjects generally, have made upon him. I will not pretend to describe it to you in a letter, and I cannot venture to enter into particulars on many subjects on which I should wish to give you information, considering the danger to which letters are exposed on their passage, and the bad consequences which have resulted, and must always result, from the publication of intercepted correspondence.

Your brother is well, and off Brest in the *Denegal*. Charles has got a ship, and is, I believe, still at Plymouth.

Ever, my dear Malcolm, yours most affectionately,

A. W.

Remember me most kindly to Wilkes, Barclay, Symonds, and Piele, and all friends at Seringapatam. Also to Colonel Close, when you write to him.

END OF VOL. I.

